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The Week

AT THE beginning of this week, the peace of Europe still hung by a thread, but a sturdier one than a week ago. Both Italy and Germany had accepted the Franco-British doctrine of neutrality in the Spanish civil war; and while they continued to make difficult reservations, the underground gossip of Europe was that the fascist dictators, alarmed by the danger of an immediate, general war, were preparing to draw in their horns. Seeming confirmation of this theory came in an interview with General Franco, leader of the Spanish rebels, who announced on Monday that he was staking everything on the attempt to capture Madrid within five days. Soviet Russia also accepted the neutrality proposal. The Spanish government made further efforts at conciliation by apologizing for incidents in which German and British vessels had been stopped and searched by ships of the Spanish navy. Meanwhile, further international complications were threatened as the Spanish rebels announced they had shot five French volunteers serving with the government's forces and charged that fifteen French airplanes had bombed towns in territory they control. They also claimed that the loyal troops recently landed on Majorca were mostly French and Russians. In France there was increasing restiveness among the Leftists over Premier Blum's neutrality policy, as the press reported the departure of a shipload of munitions from Mexico, destined for the Spanish government's troops.

WHILE the international temperature receded somewhat, in regard to Spain, it mounted for other reasons. Germany doubled the army service of her conscripts on the announced ground that "Soviet imperialism and Bolshevik militarism are a menace." Reports, not officially confirmed, say that Hitler held an extraordinary conference at his home, including Horthy, the Hungarian dictator, Marshal Balbo of the Italian army, King Boris of Bulgaria, von Papen, the German Ambassador to Austria and Admiral Raeder of the German navy. Such a conference, in these critical times, could not fail to create alarm. The press at once blossomed out with stories of a new anti-Russian bloc whose main figures will be Germany, Austria and Hungary—with, presumably, the new fascist dictatorship in Greece thrown in for good measure. . . . Two other items of importance came from Germany this week: The Protestant churches of that country unanimously defied the paganism of the Nazis, despite the risks that such procedure entails. The suicide of a Jewish army officer, Captain Wolfgang Fuerstner, the man who built the Olympic Village, gave rise to fresh reports of anti-Nazi feeling in important army circles. . . . The treason trial of sixteen Trotskyites in Soviet Russia resulted in sentences of death for all. Other well known Old Bolsheviks are under investigation, including such familiar names as those of Bukharin, Rykov and Radek. . . . The relations between Soviet Russia and Japan were again endangered as nine Russians were executed in Manchukuo and twenty-eight others sentenced to long prison terms.

GOVERNOR Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota died on August 22 and the progressive movement in America thereby lost one of its leading figures. He had been ill for many months and his friends some

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time ago abandoned all hope of his recovery. . . . Drought continues to sear the Middle West, and the burden of emergency relief now promises to be a heavy one. In all, about 500,000 families or 2,000,000 persons must have aid; in the Dakotas, three-quarters of the population is reported to need assistance. The W.P.A. will increase its number of jobs in the drought area from 90,000 to 150,000 and will spend money this winter at the rate of $7,500,000 a month. . . . Governor Landon, on his first speaking tour, invaded the East to utter a series of astonishingly mild platitudes about American principles, though he did come out against teachers' loyalty oaths. . . . At the first session of the Civil Liberties Committee of the United States Senate, six officials of the Railway Audit and Inspection Company, accused of labor espionage, refused to appear on the ground that the inquiry was unconstitutional. Contempt proceedings were promptly instituted against them. Investigators for the Committee reported that large amounts of correspondence of this firm in five cities had been torn up and deposited in wastebaskets, from which the Committee's men rescued much of it and put the pieces together again. . . . The strike of the Newspaper Guild against Mr. Hearst's Seattle Post-Intelligencer continued, with the firm support of Seattle trade unions and the fainthearted opposition of William Green, President of the A.F. of L. Representative Thomas L. Blanton, father of the District of Columbia teachers'-loyalty-oath regulation was badly defeated in a Texas primary, after almost twenty years' service in Congress. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission refused to let the railroads participate in Chicago's bright idea for changing over from Central to Eastern time.

A LARGE section of the American press is maintaining an elaborate neutrality about the situation in Spain, and feeling very virtuous in consequence. The editorial writers for these papers point out that "both sides" are indulging in great bloodshed, both sides are killing prisoners, and so on. Rarely, if ever, do these commentators mention the fact that the Spanish civil war is 100 percent the fault of the military-fascist-monarchist group. It was they who started the hostilities. The government took office by legal political means and showed no signs of continuing in any other way. If this were an international conflict, instead of a civil war, the rebel faction would be unmistakably the aggressor and subject to all the international penalties, and the moral disapprobation, entailed by that status.

ACCORDING to a special correspondent of The Wall Street Journal, who ought to be in a position to know and who certainly would have no desire to make the picture look blacker than it is, company unions in the Pittsburgh steel district are rapidly getting out of hand. Employee representatives of more than 40,000 steel workers, he reports, have already made requests for wage increases, while "other requests are coming in so fast that the steel producers are soon likely to find their company unions with a solid front in asking a higher wage scale." The increases demanded range from 10 to 20 percent, with some company unions asking for a $5 day for common labor—a 33 percent increase over the present rate. Such behavior, obviously, is most un-company-union-like, and it must have the steel producers shaking their heads in despair. Company unions are supposed to keep the boys in line so that their demands will not be for anything more extreme than a drinking fountain or perhaps a new scrap basket for the locker room. But with the employee representatives now speaking up like devil's advocates, the producers are faced with a terrifying dilemma. They are, as it were, between the devil and the C.I.O.

AMERICANS who have suffered because of the automobile-parking problem in our towns and cities (and that means just about the entire population except the inmates of prisons and insane asylums) will be interested to know of a new attack on this problem in the Far West. From the pages of Tide, we learn that a new type of neighborhood department store is now springing up. In its standard form, it is one block square and one story high. The entire roof, including an overhanging balcony which extends out to the sidewalk's edge, is a free parking space for the store's patrons. There are separate entrance and exit ramps and an elevator by which the patron gets from his car to the interior of the store. The shopper, instead of wasting time and temper trying to park within four or five blocks of the store, drives up the entrance ramp, leaves his car on the roof, descends in the elevator, makes his purchases, returns to the car, drives down the exit ramp and away. If the new type of store is successful—and we can see no reason why it should not be—it may prove of substantial assistance in relieving the traffic congestion which now costs so many hundreds of millions of dollars annually. The new plan is in accordance with the views of traffic engineers who, after long hesitation, have now reached the point of recommending that all new business structures erected in congested areas should be required by law to contain off-the-street parking facilities for all the new traffic they create.

SINCE a New Republic contributor recently said some rather stern things about the March of Time on the screen ("Time Muddles On," in our issue of August 19), we are particularly glad to report a good job in the current release of that lively institution. The March of Time has sent cameramen into Arkansas and has produced a vivid pictorial description of the plight of the sharecroppers, far more poignant and convincing than could ever be achieved by the use of words. We do not doubt that it will bring to millions of Americans their first keen realization of the desperate plight of King Cotton's slaves. True, the motion-picture sequence somewhat

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pulls its punch by excessive insistence that planters and croppers are both and equally the victims of an economic predicament: it has been demonstrated that planters who give their employees fair treatment can make just as much, or more, money than those who do not. Nevertheless, the presentation given by the March of Time is a great deal better than no presentation at all. We understand that the cameramen who went to Arkansas to make this film received rough treatment at the hands of the authorities, a fact which may contribute to the education of the editors of this sprightly screen journal.

THE venerable Harrison Grey Fiske, relict of Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske and sometime playwright and theatrical manager, looks upon the W.P.A. Federal Theatre Project in the Saturday Evening Post and finds it not good. In writing that is a little surprising over the signature of the author of "The Dice of the Gods" and "Frou Frou," Mr. Fiske conjures up the familiar S.E.P. hobgoblins of millions of dollars spent, thousands of people employed—and only a "mere handful" of plays produced. Most of these he considers terrible, and he wags his head sadly as he contrasts them with the hit-producing commercial theatre. He completely loses sight of the point, of course, that the Federal Theatre Project is in no sense designed to compete with the commercial theater and that it is primarily a project for putting people to work. In the latter function it has succeeded admirably, giving regular employment to some 11,000 persons and carrying on activities in thirty-one states. And as to merit, some of the ablest and most discerning critics in the country have praised such productions as "Murder in the Cathedral," the Negro Theatre "Macbeth" and the Living Newspaper's "Triple-A Plowed Under" as vital and successful experimentation in the theater. Mr. Fiske casually mentions a few hits of the commercial season and conveniently ignores the doleful procession of failures, as well as the fact that the per-capita, per-month cost of the Theatre Project for all expenses, estimated at $100 to $110, is a figure that many a commercial enterprise might envy. His greatest mistake, of course, is in failing to give credit to the array of supplementary activities, such as the portable theatres, the children's theatres, the vaudeville, circus and minstrel troupes, the marionette shows, that play to an estimated national audience of 100,000 persons nightly and are doing a really fine job of carrying the living drama back to the people.

WHICH side would you favor in case of a war between Germany and the Soviet Union? This question was put to readers of The Review of Reviews in a poll conducted by the editors of that publication and the results are now announced as being almost two-to-one in favor of the Soviet Union. The total vote for Russia was 1,588; for Germany, 844; and "neutral," 280. While the sample was too small to be representative, it has significance in view of the editors' statement that "this was a conservative American ballot, coming from all states of the Union, with a scattered vote from Canada. The number of communist and professional German participants was negligible. . . ." Roger Shaw, who edits the foreign news for The Review of Reviews, comments, "The verdict seems to be clear. A majority of these typical Americans feel that Russia is essentially interested in home-abiding reconstruction, via the Five-Year Plans and a new democratic constitution, while Germany is dangerously restive and headed for plans of conquest in the 1914 fashion. To them it is a case of the plough versus the sword and of humanitarian values." By occupations, those in business voted 306 to 285 in favor of Russia; lawyers voted 135 to 87 for the Soviet Union; doctors 114 to 30; clergy 39 to 15; literary men, 165 to 48; teachers 180 to 81; students, 45 to 24; engineers, 48 to 21; clerical workers 123 to 42. Farmers were the only group to favor Germany, doing so by a vote of 30 to 39.

THIS month, ten mechanical cotton pickers will be tested at regular work in the fields of the South, and if the results are as good as the inventors and many other people expect, the Rust brothers, of Memphis, Tennessee, will have solved the last great problem in the mechanization of the cotton industry. New Republic readers may remember the principle of the Rust machine, described a year ago in our pages. A series of smooth metal rods are moistened and brought into contact with the opened bolls, so that the cotton sticks to these "fingers" until it is removed, inside the machine. The picker is driven, under its own power, through the cotton field, straddling one or two rows. One expert has said the machine is already better as a cotton picker than the first Model T Ford was as a car. The Rust brothers' experiments have brought many forebodings as to loss of employment of several million persons now working on the plantations, particularly since the machine makes possible the introduction of mechanical methods, already perfected, in other processes of cotton growing—methods heretofore ignored because many workers were available the year round, though urgently needed only at cotton-picking time. To what extent these forebodings about technological unemployment are justified, remains to be seen. The Rust brothers differ from many other inventors in that they are quite as much concerned about possible social developments following the introduction of their machine as they are about the machine itself. Everything depends, of course, upon the success of the experimental models that will go to work this month for the first time.

ANY record of life in America in 1936 must include the sudden flowering of the automobile trailer. This development was not entirely unforeseen; the manufacturer who now does the largest

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volume of business has been at it for four years, and even in 1935 there were signs to indicate what was coming. Nevertheless, the increase is startling. We read of production that has multiplied two to six times; of manufacturers who are far behind with their orders; of hundreds of new builders entering this profitable field. More interesting to the layman is the increasing elaborateness of the trailers themselves and the proliferation of roadside camps designed primarily or solely for the use of those who are practising this newest variant on the life of the gypsy. Some trailers, such as Corwin Willson's adroitly designed two-story unit, receive and deserve the title of "mobile housing." We are being told, all in the same breath, that the trailer strikes a mortal blow at city planning and that it means new freedom for labor, no longer shackled to a company house in a company town. These predictions are certainly exaggerated, perhaps entirely false. Meanwhile, anyone with eyes in his head, willing to stand for a while by a busy highway, can see this newest American gadget go rolling by.

The Trial of the Trotskyites in Russia

SIXTEEN persons have been put to death in Soviet Russia for a conspiracy to assassinate a large group of the present leaders in that country and to overturn the government. Nearly all of those executed had formerly held high place; they included two once world-famous figures, Zinoviev and Kamenev. Others now under investigation are equally well known: among them are Bukharin, Rykov and Radek. The sixteen already tried and executed described themselves as Trotskyites and implicated that famous former leader, at one time second in importance only to Lenin himself. Trotsky now living in exile in Norway, repudiates all complicity and announces he will soon issue documents to prove that instead of being guilty, he has been the victim of a plot against him concocted by the Russian G.P.U.

The trial which ended a few days ago was, to Western eyes, an extraordinary spectacle. There were no witnesses for the defense and none for the state except the accused themselves. All sixteen admitted they were followers of the philosophy of Trotsky who, as is well known, has always demanded communist revolutions in all parts of the world at the earliest possible moment. Fourteen of the sixteen admitted participation in the plans to murder a dozen of the present Russian leaders. Even those who denied terroristic activities made no appeal for clemency, although two others did so. The prisoners accused themselves and each other with the utmost vehemence, their general attitude being one of sinners who have repented after having seen the light.

The charges made against Trotsky, in a conspiracy that began in 1932, included sending money into the U.S.S.R. for the plotters and forwarding at least one secret communication, written in invisible ink on the back of a magazine. The defendants also implicated the present German government, charging that five assassins sent in from abroad were aided by forged passports prepared by the Gestapo, the German secret police. This charge has been met by Germany with a stony silence which, as international relations go nowadays, is tantamount to an admission of guilt. One of these sixteen men sat through last summer's meeting of the Communist International with a Browning pistol on his person, waiting vainly to get close enough to Stalin to shoot him. Three other attempts on Stalin's life were made. The defendants were implicated in the assassination of Kirov, which ought to set at rest the persistent reports that his murder was non-political and was made the excuse for unjustified wholesale reprisals—old charges that have been repeated in the New York press within the past few days.

What is one to make of all this? Some commentators, writing at a long distance from the scene, profess doubt that the executed men were guilty. It is suggested that they may have participated in a piece of stage play for the sake of friends or members of their families, held by the Soviet government as hostages and to be set free in exchange for this sacrifice. It is hinted that to discredit Trotsky in the eyes of the world is now the matter of greatest importance to Stalin and that the whole affair may have been trumped up for this purpose. Other commentators, without arguing the guilt or innocence of the accused, concern themselves with the question why the trial was held at this moment and suggest it was an attempt to take the minds of the Russian masses off the spectacle of the civil war in Spain, in view of the contemplated policy of neutrality, a policy which, it was assumed, would prove extremely unpopular.

We see no reason to accept any of these labored hypotheses, or to take the trial at other than its face value. Governments are rarely so sensitive to opinion in other countries as the inhabitants of those countries would like to believe. Foreign correspondents present at the trial pointed out that the stories told by these sixteen defendants, covering a series of complicated happenings over nearly five years, corroborated each other to an extent that would be quite impossible if they were not substantially true. The stories were not identical—such a thing would tend to confirm the suspicion that they were manufactured—but they were practically the same. The defendants, who spoke volubly and extemporaneously for several days, gave no evidence of having been coached, parroting confessions painfully memorized in advance, or of being under any sort of duress.

The outside world tends to attribute to the Communists, as to all other specialized groups, a unanimity that does not exist. The blunt fact is that when

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Trotsky was in power, he had millions of devoted adherents. His ideas about early and complete world revolution were at one time the official and approved doctrine of the Communist Parties in all countries. When the Stalinist group came to power and Trotsky was exiled, neither his personality nor his views could be erased by magic from the hearts and minds of so many people. The hatred American tories feel for Roosevelt is probably no more violent than the similar feeling the Russian Trotskyites had for Stalin. Let it be remembered, too, that these were "Old Bolsheviks," accustomed all their lives to underground revolutionary plotting, prepared to run desperate personal risks and quite confident of their own ability, given the chance, to take over and operate the government of Russia or any other country. Such men, while willing to take the consequences of their actions if caught, would be the last to confess, for ulterior motives, a guilt that did not exist.

While the evidence points to the genuineness of the plot (although it does not thus far seem to us conclusive in regard to Trotsky's personal participation) we see no reason to believe that the present Russian government is in any serious internal danger. It is obvious that the rulers of the U.S.S.R., in common with those in other lands, are in constant risk of assassination either from a madman's bullet or that of a political conspirator. But there is ample evidence that the overwhelming mass of the Russian population now approves of the Stalinist policy of building a successful socialist society first of all in Russia, so that its example can shine out to the world.

And we need not shut our eyes to the fact that this position is largely the result of skillful, universal and long-continued influence upon the rising generation—an influence its enemies will call propaganda and its friends, education. To anyone in Soviet Russia thirty years of age or younger, Trotsky is only a name—if even that. In this group is roughly half the population, and it is far the more important half. They have grown up in a new world and they have no contact with any other. The conspirators who have been put to death and the others who, presumably, will meet the same fate, are nearly all middle-aged or elderly. There is no reason to believe that they represent a movement that is growing or has any present vitality of its own, or any future.

Perhaps the deepest lesson to be learned from the Russian trial is the profound, unchangeable stubbornness of human nature. From the standpoint of practical expediency, these men had little to gain and much to lose by their effort to bring down the Soviet state in ruins. Even the most quixotic revolutionary terrorists must have known that their chance of success was slight, the likelihood of failure overwhelming, the doom that has befallen them almost inevitable. Over and over again history teaches us that most men are incapable of abandoning the fixed set of ideas with which they equip themselves during their early, more impressionable period. They will die before they will alter, as these sixteen men—and how many others!—have died.

Landon Quietism

GOVERNOR Landon's first two speeches of the campaign are making the hot weather especially hard for editorial writers, and some of them are showing their resentment. In a series of admirable but nearly meaningless platitudes he gives them nothing to be either enthusiastic or angry about, nothing controversial enough to make serious debate possible. What would they not give for an Al Smith? Mr. Landon makes the impression of a boxer who, after entering the ring, moves feebly about in his corner and will not exchange blows with his antagonist. The fight-fans are jeering.

But this response misses the essence of campaign strategy. Mr. Landon's role is not that of a debater or a prize-fighter. It is his function to corral all the votes opposed to Mr. Roosevelt. He cannot be elected without the support of millions whose interests and opinions differ radically from the interests and opinions of those whose favor he must keep. The fewer concrete statements he can make, the better chance he has. Furthermore, it is his part to supply a temperamental contrast to Mr. Roosevelt. The President gives the impression of being active, daring, mercurial, incisive, magnetic. But many voters are tired of these qualities, or distrust them. Mr. Landon must therefore be calm, reliable, flat, as everyday as a dish of cold boiled potatoes. Whether he is merely acting the part, or was born to it, this is certainly the character in which the Republican impresarios are presenting him, and he plays it well.

We do detect, however, a theme running lightly through his speeches, insinuating itself unobtrusively here and there, which is the chosen theme of his big business and financial supporters. It is the effort to link American traditions, and especially the tradition of liberty, with the absence of governmental regulation of industry. This subject is adroitly developed. Speaking in the village where he was born, West Middlesex, Pennsylvania, he wanted "every boy and girl to have a better chance in life than we have had." From opportunity for boys and girls it is an easy step to a government that will preserve opportunity "for American qualities of self-reliance, of honesty, of generosity." And from there it is an easy step to governmental non-interference with business—excepting of course the usual pious phrases about breaking up monopoly and correcting abuses, just to show that he is fair-minded.

At Chautauqua, he began not with boys and girls, but with teachers. He is strong for academic freedom. He is against teachers' oaths. Education should lead the way to improvements; teachers should be free to talk and vote as they please out-

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side the classroom. This is all admirable. Then comes the pay-off. A sly boost for the new states' rights doctrine of big business men who do not want to be controlled by the federal government, in the statement that education has developed as a local activity and should be free from federal interference. And finally, the point the speech was aimed at all the time. "We must ever remember that academic freedom, political freedom, religious freedom and freedom of opportunity are all bound together. Infringement upon one will soon lead to infringement upon others." Freedom of opportunity is the code phrase for unregulated capitalism. Oh, yes—the teachers should be free, but so should the millionaire industrialists.

Mr. Landon is shrewder than the commentators think he is. He is doing a very good job indeed as a representative of his principal backers.

The Servile Press of Fascism

FROM TIME to time The New Republic has commented on the explicit orders that are issued, day by day or week by week, to the press of Germany and Italy by the fascist dictatorships of those countries. Only a few days ago a German journalist was sentenced to life imprisonment because he was suspected of having supplied to a foreign newspaper some of the instructions issued by the indefatigable Dr. Goebbels. That the regimenting of the press continues is shown in a fresh group of instructions to the Italian newspapers that appeared recently in Giustizia e Liberta, the anti-fascist weekly published in Paris. Revealing indeed were some of the instructions issued early this summer regarding the Ethiopian conquests and the League of Nations:

> Say little concerning the Italian delegation at Geneva. No deductions, no comments. Nevertheless continue to attack the League and sanctions.
>
> On Geneva items never more than title [headline] over one column and no comments.
>
> The conquest of Ethiopia is not yet fully appreciated by the public. Write it up.
>
> Absolutely do not publish anything concerning unemployment in Oriental Africa.
>
> Be silent concerning the Catholic bishop in Harar and do not print anything concerning foreigners residing in Ethiopia.
>
> Mr. Tefari should never be called the Negus.
>
> No comments, as yet, on the speech of Mr. Eden. Wait for official order and official text. Do not follow The Tribuna which says, "Eden is forced to admit." When text is released give a title six columns wide.
>
> Do not print anything concerning the return from Ethiopia of high Fascist officials.
>
> Make no mention of the order of General Graziani that the Fascist salute is obligatory in Ethiopia.
>
> Severe punishments will attend the writer and the paper writing and publishing articles into which pity might be read for the Ethiopians; no sense of fraternity. Clear distinction between the dominant race and the subject one.
>
> Stop publishing anything on the projected Ossuary [monument to receive the bones of dead soldiers] at Amba Alaji. Above all, do not give the quantity of bones it might receive. Should necessity to mention the Ossuary arise, change its name and call it Votive Chapel.

Matters involving Mussolini's sons and his son-in-law Ciano seem to require some delicacy in handling:

> Concerning the return to Italy of Minister Ciano and the sons of the Duce, wait for the official communique.
>
> Don't give as an interview the declarations made by Minister Ciano to a German journalist.
>
> Give little prominence to the promotion of the sons of the Duce.

Fine points of Fascist ideology and practice, especially in international affairs, are indicated in such orders as the following:

> We repeat for the second time: no comment on the workers' agitations in France. No photographs. Transgression of this order means seizure of the whole edition.
>
> Publish no information concerning Soviet Russia.
>
> Stop publishing anything concerning the reduction of one-fifth of all stipends.
>
> The news, given by the foreign press, that we are again exporting motors for airplanes, is not to be reproduced.
>
> Concerning Austria, no comments, even on articles in the foreign press.
>
> Ignore completely Russia and Titulescu.
>
> Do not mention the meeting of the Minister Alfieri with Schuschnigg. Say instead that Alfieri was in Venice for personal reasons and incidentally met the Austrian Chancellor at the Art Exhibition.
>
> Give no notice of arrival or passage of important foreign personages in Rome, unless given out by the "Stefani" agency.
>
> Only record the fact of the death of Maxim Gorki. No comments, no eulogy; only list of works may, at the most, be permitted.
>
> Some papers let pass news of flying disasters. Remember that nothing concerning military or civil aviation can be published unless distributed by the "Stefani" agency.

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The Seesaw in Spain

THE PRINCIPAL conclusion by any judicious reader of the news from Spain must be that this news is grossly exaggerated in every direction. Little as such a reader can know, it is probable that by careful comparison and checking of dispatches, he knows more than any single correspondent in the war area. Few such correspondents see anything significant; what any one of them does see is in a limited district. Most of what they repeat is hearsay, and hearsay from highly interested parties.

The numbers of the various "columns" and "armies" operating in different regions are probably scarcely more than a few regiments in most cases. "Heavy" losses inflicted upon the enemy, though large in proportion to the number of combatants, are not what would be expected in modern organized warfare covering such a territory. Great victories claimed are found on succeeding days to be still unwon. Cities besieged or under assault, the hourly fall of which is expected, remain uncaptured for weeks. At the rate at which atrocities, mass executions, church-burnings and air-bombings have been reported, it would be assumed that there could scarcely be more than half the population left alive and few buildings standing. The loyalists are continually reported to be on the point of splitting into factions that will kill one another off; at the same time they are all called determined Communists.

What is to be made of all this? The composite picture, observed over a number of days, reveals at this writing what is very close to a military stalemate. General Mola's northern army advancing on Madrid has not been able to penetrate beyond the Guadarrama mountain range which he reached in the first few days. And, on the other hand, neither his land forces nor the rebel attacks by sea and air have been able to dislodge the loyalists from the strip of the Basque coast which they hold on the northern sea-front, a strip of great strategic importance because it prevents the rebels from getting shipments through ports like San Sebastian or border cities like Irun. The Asturian miners besieging Oviedo, their belts bristling with sticks of dynamite, which they light with cigars glowing as they go into battle, still meet resistance. Saragossa, invested by several columns from Barcelona (the Syndicalists and the Socialists each, according to report, having their own columns, one of which set bravely out only to discover after a day's march that it had forgotten to bring food) has not fallen. Toledo and Malaga are still held by the government in the south, though the rebels in the Alcazar in Toledo hold out.

The one definite change in the situation is that General Francisco Franco, by virtue of getting more troops over from Morocco, has been able to advance from his southern strongholds, capture Badajoz and Merida near the Portuguese border, and thus make contact with General Mola's forces in the north. It is rumored that he has now launched a flying column against the capital, but on the other hand government forces are reported to be operating in his rear, besieging Cordoba and possibly cutting his communications with the north again. If General Franco is seriously proceeding against Madrid, he must have decided on a desperate move, because he has not enough men to consolidate his gains behind him, against a largely hostile population and loyal troops.

In this bitter civil war there are undoubtedly atrocities and much cold-blooded killing, most of which will, we are confident, be found in the end to have been committed by General Franco's reactionary troops. He, unlike the loyal armies, is advancing through country containing many workers and peasants hostile to him. He is using calculated frightfulness to cow the population, with mass executions of militiamen, Socialists, Syndicalists and Communists. The Moors in his army are renowned for their cruelty, of which they gave a terrible exhibition in suppressing the revolt in the Asturias in 1934. There is no doubt that there has been looting, burning and destruction of churches in government territory, together with arrests and executions of traitors. But there probably has not been anything like the calculated ferocity employed by the man who aspires to be military dictator.

The leading figure in government circles appears to be Inbalecio Prieto, the right-wing Socialist who, before the outbreak of revolt, differed with Largo Caballero and the majority of the Socialists because he favored participation in the bourgeois government headed by Left Republicans. Apparently he has evinced a remarkable talent for organization and hard work. The government has announced that it is taking over industries, but not on the Soviet plan—factories have to be controlled for war purposes, just as they do in any warring state. Production is reported to be higher now than before the outbreak of hostilities. The United States has been assured that compensation will be rendered for any American property confiscated. If Communists are as influential in the regime as the hostile propaganda indicates, revolutionary action will be moderate, since the Communists see clearly the danger of too rapid an advance that may provoke foreign intervention. As usual, the anti-Red forces of the rest of the world reveal their ignorance by failing to identify their most dangerous opponents. Not the Communists, but the Anarcho-Syndicalists, who for years have been strong with

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the rank and file, are most likely to take extreme or undisciplined action.

In Barcelona, the largest city and capital of Catalonia, the Syndicalists apparently are closer to power than in Madrid, and their rivalry with the Socialists is more dangerous. Committees of both factions have assumed control of numerous enterprises and important centers. An effort of the government to disarm the rank and file to the end of preventing disorder in the city has met with determined Syndicalist refusal.

The propaganda on both sides of the war indicates the extreme importance of help from abroad. Both are trying to impress other nations with the desirability of getting on the bandwagon. Both have been receiving munitions, airplanes and supplies. Present indications are that the effort of the French and British to bring about complete non-intervention will, if successful, aid the government more than the rebels. The government controls most of the industrial regions capable of making munitions, most of the supplies of raw material, most of the fertile land, and the most populous territories. At the beginning it was at a disadvantage in contending with well trained and supplied troops. The longer the war continues, the more time it has to drill and equip armies. Even the rebels' money may give out.

The war situation itself may change suddenly. Deadlocks may be broken. Italy and Germany, which now have agreed to neutrality in principle, may suddenly decide that they cannot allow the rebels to lose; excuses for such action have been frequent in the past and may occur again. It may once more create an acute danger of international war. But the reactionary militarists who are laying waste to their country cannot in any case win a quick and final victory. They are engaged in subduing a largely hostile population like an army in a foreign nation; the bitterness they have aroused will not die for generations.

OBSERVER.

Rendezvous with the Supreme Court

THE SHAPE of the issues touching the Constitution and the Supreme Court slowly takes form and emerges from the cloud of words and dim course of history in the making. At all events some of the things said and done by high Republican and Democratic politicians are before us, although their meaning is far from clear and their consequences are not positively charted. As Daniel Webster once said of the storm-tossed mariner, it is well to take reckonings when rifts appear in the heavens and some bearings are visible.

In their Cleveland platform, Republicans stated their policies for the future. In sum and substance they promised the country to do effectively about what the Democrats have done badly. They will aid agriculture by soil control and subsidies. They will encourage the states in establishing unemployment insurance. They propose to establish minimum conditions of life and labor by state legislation and interstate compacts "within the Constitution as it now stands." In other words they will grapple with basic economic problems and yet avoid alterations in the fundamental law of the land as recently interpreted by the Supreme Court.

But the advisers of the Republican candidate, Alfred M. Landon, were astute enough to see a dilemma in the platform planks. How could protection be given to women and children through state minimum-wage legislation in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court on the New York statute? How could states exercise, in making interstate compacts, powers which they did not possess under judicial rulings on the Fourteenth Amendment? This much, and more, seemed obvious to anybody who wanted to see anything. So Mr. Landon sent a message to the Republicans—a message drawn up for him in Cleveland, it is rumored. He declared that he would favor an amendment to the Constitution permitting states to enact wage and protective legislation for women and children, in case such legislation could not be lawfully enacted "within the Constitution as it now stands." Thus, with a gesture, he broke the tabu. Even a Republican candidate might touch the sacred Ark of the Covenant by proposing an amendment. This was the bold, brave act which the Roosevelt administration had so far avoided by painful silence.

And how did the Democrats at Philadelphia deal with the issue? Senator Barkley devoted more than a solid column of print to discussing it, or rather going all around and through it. Anyone who is familiar with historic debates on the subject must admit that the Senator displayed ingenuity and knowledge in his effort to "educate the country." He completely riddled the constitutional fiction nourished by J. M. Beck, John W. Davis, the Liberty League and the Red-baiters, and he did it adroitly without making any frontal assaults. He spoke of great laws enacted by Congress to save agriculture, business and labor from distress, and yet "cast aside by the rigors of technicality and the application of antiquated economic predilections in the interpretation of the document." He referred to disagreements among the nine men. Then he modestly asked: "When five of those eminent men say a law violates the Constitution, and four of them, equally eminent, learned and sincere, and equally alive to the compulsions of modern life, say it does not violate the Constitution, then we are at

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least relieved of any obligation to underwrite the infallibility of the five whose views prevail." Over against the rigors of the judicial majority he placed the sufferings of the people and the labors of Democratic heroes to save them from destruction. By way of support for his views, Senator Barkley cited the devastating remarks of Lincoln on the Supreme Court in his first inaugural speech.

What to do? Senator Barkley called for "a new definition and a new interpretation of interstate commerce." A new interpretation of the Constitution, not an amendment, was the very thing Lincoln and the Republicans demanded in 1860. The Democrats are going ahead, as the Republicans went in 1860. The issue is, so to speak, in the hand of God. "If in the future," winked the Senator cryptically, "further amendments should become necessary to enable the people to work out their destiny, and protect their fundamental rights, or to overcome some archaic interpretation never intended by its framers, I doubt not that the people will face that duty with the same calm intelligence which has guided them in the past." President Roosevelt, apparently, will do nothing about it; Democrats as such will do nothing about it; the people will do the job.

Readers acquainted with judicial battles in American history will surely agree that Senator Barkley said nearly everything, without giving Republicans any secure peg on which to hang a club. He shattered constitutional mythology and left the Constitution untouched, shining with undimmed effulgence in the heavens.

In his acceptance speech, President Roosevelt touched the subject as with the brush of an angel's wing. He must have had a grand roar in his study as he helped to doctor up Senator Barkley's essay, but he gave no hint on the following Saturday that he had ever heard of it. He said nothing against the Supreme Court or its decisions, as he spoke of faith, hope and charity. The Constitution? It stands for democracy. Yet off in one corner, disassociated from his remarks on the Constitution are eight little words: economic princes, after creating a new despotism, "wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction." And perhaps other cryptic words: "This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny." At the rendezvous will be the Constitution and the Supreme Court, as Justice Stone implied when he warned his brethren that abuse of power might destroy it.

And what about the Democratic platform? It points out an obvious fact, with which even school children are familiar, namely, that storms, floods, droughts, wages, hours, business practices and working conditions in industry are nationwide in their entanglements and interdependence. "Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow state boundaries call for both state and federal treatment." The Democrats announce that they will continue to meet these problems through legislation within the Constitution; but if these problems cannot be so solved they will "seek a clarifying amendment" which will permit the state and federal legislatures, within their respective spheres, to regulate commerce adequately, protect public health and safety, and safeguard economic security. In this plank there is only one sliver; that is the word "clarifying." This implies that the Constitution has been muddied and mishandled by Justices of the Supreme Court. But the non-discriminating public will scarcely get mad over an adjective.

Such are the promises of the campaign, and its strategy. To this situation we have been brought. What is to be said about it? Any proposal of policy will be a personal opinion, with all the hazards and perils of mere opinion. Purists may be angry that neither party has spoken more positively, in tone of dogmatic thunder. They may demand that the sacred ark shall not be touched, or that harsh things shall be done to the Constitution and the Court. They may call the Supreme Court the rock of our ages, or denounce it as the arcanum of tyranny. They may spurn the very idea of any amendment or demand an immediate amendment. These songs in the two wings, and all intermediate tunes, are as familiar as Moody and Sankey hymns, and are not without significance.

There are many people in the world who get a deep satisfaction out of a two or ten-point program of "action."

1. Let us do nothing.—I cannot share that hope, for things happen in spite of us.

2. Let us have an immediate amendment.—In view of what Mr. Justice Roberts did to a clause as broad and sweeping as "the general welfare," I can see other justices of his mental outlook macerating almost any clarifying amendment less generous in its terms. If there is any phrase wider than providing for the general welfare, I am unable to conjure it up in my mind. Yet if such an amendment should be submitted to the people I should be happy to cast my vote in favor of it.

3. Let us strip the Court of its power to pass upon acts of Congress.—If no other safeguard is to be substituted I am against such an emancipation of legislative authority, certainly as things now stand. Having seen sadism incarnate in members of congressional committees in charge of repressive legislation, I respectfully beg to be excused from giving sovereignty to Congress, even though the Supreme Court has often refused to interfere with gross violations of personal liberty by that body. In my opinion the Court has been supine in such matters and vindictive in protecting so-called property rights; but at least there is now an appeal to the Court. That alone delays execution for a few days. Without nursing any illusions about the Supreme Court or staking any high hopes on its humanity in an hour of crisis, I find myself unwilling to entrust everything I hold dear to a mere majority of Congress. It may be, as Justice Holmes once remarked, that such alarm is unwarranted, but it is impossible for me to avoid feeling it. Even the Bol-

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sheviks in Russia express in their new constitution a desire for a certain degree of judicial independence over against the sheer power of political authorities. In sharing this apprehension, one does not have to believe that judges are gods.

4. Let us limit the Court by some device.—The idea of requiring an extraordinary majority of Justices in declaring an act unconstitutional is attractive to many. I doubt whether the Court would sustain it, if incorporated in a statute. Moreover, it is impossible to calculate its consequences. The one proposal that appeals to me is to allow Congress to override a judicial veto *after* a new congressional election has been held. This calls for some delay, popular discussion, and popular judgment.

From devices I turn to less palpable things, to ideas and matters of the spirit—imponderable and immeasurable. The very wise may laugh at the thought, and smell mysticism at once. But anyone who has ever watched courtroom procedure has witnessed manifestations of ideas and spirit. He has seen sagacious judges temper the harshness of a brutal statute and an inflamed jury with mercy, and do justice in spite of them. He has seen other judges crucify the spirit of a generous statute by a narrow and cruel ruling.

The process of spreading ideas and nourishing the spirit of justice and fair play is less spectacular than a street demonstration. Many good souls are doubtless more efficient in making loud noises in the public square than they are in mastering knowledge and arguing in the forum of opinion. Often they do a lot of good. But there is another method to be employed in creating a brave new world. Those who have studied the life of Diderot have seen it exemplified and traced its consequences. Nor, it will be remembered, did Condorcet shrink from the supreme test—in the hour when his rendezvous with destiny arrived.

An illustration or two will suffice for a benediction. The world did not come to an end on May 18, 1936, when the Supreme Court voided the Guffey-Snyder Coal Act by a five-one-three vote; nor did the United States; nor the coal industry; nor John L. Lewis; nor industrial unionism; nor the movement of interests and ideas in America. The history of neither labor nor capital was then closed. Nothing was then settled except the particular matter for the particular moment.

Before me, open on my desk, lies the brief for the government, signed by Stanley Reed, John Dickinson and their colleagues. It was, I am told, the product of many minds and I know that some of them are powerful minds. No one can scan every word of its 288 pages and compare it with similar briefs filed twenty or thirty years ago, in cases involving large national policies, without seeing that a drastic change has come in legal ideas and interests in the intervening term. The crisis in thought which has overtaken other branches of knowledge and action is manifest in this document; for a realistic approach to legal questions is here substituted for the hair-splitting and moonshine artistry of previous decades. It seems necessary to believe that the method and thought of this brief represent the march of a conquering spirit which will attain victories on the bench in years to come. In my opinion the victories will come swiftly when a few men whose economic predilections were fixed in the age of Mark Hanna have passed from the scene.

It is well to remember that there are several ways of dealing with a Supreme Court decision. One is to defy it. That is what the Republicans did when they abolished slavery in the territories without asking the permission of Chief Justice Taney, author of the Dred Scott opinion. That is a ruthless method from which tender spirits, like mine, may shrink. Another way is to pass a new law, with distinctions and discriminations, and get a new hearing, perhaps from a bench somewhat differently constituted by Father Time. A third is to follow the example of the Republicans under President Grant: appoint two judges "of the right kind," and get a reversal. I know that our constitutional historians have denied the truth of this story, but recent scholarship has unearthed new evidence and established the fact that President Grant knew just what he was doing when he appointed Bradley and Strong. The fourth method is to amend the Constitution by formal process. This takes time. The Supreme Court knocked out the income tax law in 1895; it was not until 1913 that the "clarifying" amendment was finally adopted and put into force. That was eighteen years—too long a time for old men who want to see something done, and for young men in a hurry. In view of the fate that has befallen the Child Labor Amendment, long pending and still pending, the prospect of carrying a broader amendment soon is not encouraging. Anyway, surrounding anything that is done, impinging upon it, conditioning it, determining it, is the totality of ideas and interests in time movement, called history as actuality.

In my opinion, therefore—and opinions seem to be demanded these days—the directorate of the Democratic party is pursuing sound tactics, in its effort to liberalize the interpretation of the Constitution and permit national legislation adapted to the interdependent character of American economy. It announces that it intends to go ahead along lines followed since 1933, and will seek an amendment of the Constitution, if within the range of providence a liberalization of the judiciary does not take place during the next four years. It really submits the issue to the judgment of the voters at the coming election. It does not take on now an abstract debate over an abstract alteration in the sacred text of the Constitution and spring all the alarms, real and fictitious, therewith connected, but it does chart the future as clearly as the exigencies of American politics will permit. This conclusion does not deny that critics may prove to be right. It merely affirms a probability of high degree.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

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Liberty League Liberty

II: *Liberty in Politics (Continued)*

IN THE first article on Liberty League liberty, we reviewed some of the revelations of Senator Black's Committee about the political activities of the liberty-savers—the holding-company executives and a few of the minor leagues. Here we may continue with these precursors of the American Liberty League.

More Minor Leagues

Crusaders.—The Committee learned about the Crusaders from Mr. Fred G. Clark, their National Commander. The organization was originally formed to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment—a popular cause to which promising young men flocked. When that was done, it looked around for other possibilities of public service. It decided to fight "all forces destructive to sound, free government." In doing so it opposed the Tennessee Valley Authority, the "death sentence" of the Wheeler-Rayburn bill, the A.A.A., the banking-reform bill. Its most telling argument, according to a letter from Mr. F. W. Blaisdell, of the organization, was "We ought to be having a labor shortage right now. The only thing holding back prosperity is politics. Let's get together and get the politicians out of the road and go ahead." It opposed tax bills, upheld the Constitution and the Supreme Court. It sponsored many broadcasts, issued pamphlets, and sent telegrams asking for comments on its arguments to Frank Kent, Mark Sullivan, Prof. E. W. Kemmerer, James P. Warburg, Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Ogden Mills, Cleveland E. Dodge, John W. Davis and other prominent men. It campaigned for "sound money." As a result of its activities, it received large contributions from a list that reads like a Who's Who of big business executives. Many of these contributors also contributed to the American Liberty League and other similar organizations. Among its backers were such men as Irénée and Lammot Du Pont, Walter P. Chrysler, E. T. Weir, Alfred P. Sloan, E. F. Hutton.

The Crusaders carefully refrained from telling anyone how many members they had. According to a letter by Mr. Blaisdell, "If they do not know how many members you have, they will always credit you with having a much larger membership than is really the fact." About sixty rich men paid for the expenses connected with its broadcasting (although it was given free radio time for five months by the Columbia Broadcasting System. Later it paid for time on the Mutual System and the Yankee Network). It did not inform its listeners who was putting up the money. Mr. Clark even went so far as to say in a public speech, "The Crusaders file no brief for any particular group in this country. . . . We make this statement because misinformed or malicious individuals have charged us with being the agents of big business." On another occasion he said over the radio, "We did not receive a dollar in contributions from any public utility company. We should immediately return it had we received one." Yet the records uncovered by the Senate Committee showed that the Crusaders received substantial contributions from important officers of Cities Service Power and Light Co., Stone and Webster, Commonwealth Edison Co. and others. "Your object," said Senator Black "was trying to influence people into shaping their thought with reference to legislation. . . . Do you not think the people are entitled to know, under those circumstances, that your expenses, the whole expenses of the program, were being paid by a small group of big business men in this country?" To which Mr. Clark's revealing reply was, "I have been trying to make business men realize that this was a worthy movement, and I have been very unsuccessful. I am very glad if this committee points out to them that it is to their interest to support this program, because it is going to help them a lot." Mr. Clark was trying to help big business men, his organization was being paid by them for doing so, but in public he represented himself as being "for no particular group."

Mr. Clark protested, and probably believed, that the concealment was of no importance, because what is good for big business is good for everybody. He was candidly and honestly trying to serve the country. It is curious, however, that with all their campaign for budget balancing and lower taxes, their drive against politics, the Crusaders did not more strongly oppose the soldiers' bonus bill. The Committee found the explanation. A telegram from Mr. Blaisdell to Mr. George E. Dickie read, "Please wire me first thing in the morning whether bonus matter is being left out of broadcast so that we can get out our news releases. Our disapproval of bonus bill will lose us support of one nation-wide newspaper chain." Mr. Dickie wired back, "Clark advises bonus matter will be eliminated from tonight's broadcast." Neither Mr. Clark nor Mr. Blaisdell could remember at first what newspaper chain objected. After Senator Black had refreshed Mr. Blaisdell's memory by naming the principal chains, Mr. Blaisdell tentatively admitted, "It was quite probably in connection with the Hearst newspapers."

A light upon the influence that the Crusaders

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exerted in the press was thrown by a letter from Mr. Sherman Clark, director in eleven states. He wrote: "In the Sinclair campaign [the campaign against Upton Sinclair in California] we contributed six or seven hundred dollars to the newspaper association, or whatever it is called, and that opened the way to free publicity in the newspapers. I understand it is an old 'gag,' though continually used, and apparently it works."

Farmers.—The Farmers' Independence Council was organized by a few men in a room in the Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C. It attacked the New Deal's agricultural program by radio and otherwise. Its Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. S. V. Wilcox, who is known for his anti-New Deal articles in The Country Gentleman, displayed a surprising ignorance concerning its affairs. He could not name any farmers who were members of the Council. He did not know that Mr. Lammot Du Pont had contributed to the Council. (Other contributors were Mr. Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Mr. J. N. Pew of the Sun Oil Co., Mr. Aldrich of the Chase National Bank, Mr. F. G. Baldwin of Libby, McNeil and Libby, Mr. R. E. Fisher of Pacific Gas and Electric Co., Mr. Silas H. Strawn, Chicago corporation lawyer, Mr. Ogden Mills.) He did not know that Mr. Samuel F. Morse, vice president and general manager of the Council, who apparently did most of its work, was working for the American Liberty League, as consulting agricultural engineer. Authority had been given to Mr. Morse to keep the records, to receive and to issue checks. Dr. Wilcox could name only one farmer—Mr. Dorsett, a past master of the Grange in Pennsylvania—who had had anything to do with drafting the Council's declaration of principles. This declaration, in addition to praising industry, thrift, economy, freedom, Americanism, impartiality, etc., and expressing its interest in the welfare of the farmer, insisted "that the government shall not by law or by subsidy control or attempt to control any farmer in the management of his own farm," and that "government shall not enter into competition with any legitimate organized or unorganized business activity." It also opposed "destructive radicalism, in whatever form it may appear."

The little group of men, under the general managership of Mr. Morse of the Liberty League, who drew up this declaration in the Raleigh Hotel, set out to organize farmers by states and to exert influence on existing agricultural organizations. It is still a mystery how many farmers they organized and how much influence they exerted. Mr. George Peek did conduct an exhibit under their auspices attacking the administration's reciprocity treaties by showing imported farm products. Apparently, however, the Council never really flourished. Perhaps they would have gone further if the Senate Committee had not asked Dr. Wilcox so many questions.

The Talmadge Affair

Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, it may be remembered, started a boom of his own to win the Democratic presidential nomination from Franklin D. Roosevelt. He talked a good deal about supporting the Constitution, reducing taxes, balancing the budget, abolishing the A.A.A. A graphic article in The New Republic of February 19, 1936, by Hamilton Basso, described his "convention" in Macon, Georgia. The Senate Committee learned something about this affair from Mr. John H. Kirby of Houston, Texas, president of the Kirby Lumber Co. and the Kirby Investment Co. and chairman of the board of the Kirby Petroleum Co. Mr. Kirby was chairman of the board of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, a member of the executive committee of the Sentinels of the Republic, and a member of the Order of American Patriots. Obviously a most patriotic gentleman. He was also formerly listed as an officer of the American Taxpayers' League, and is president of the Southern Tariff Association. Mr. Kirby's chief service to the Senate Committee was to identify Mr. Vance Muse as the manager of the Southern Committee.

From Mr. Muse's reluctant lips the rest of the story was learned. (Mr. Muse had also been working for the American Taxpayers' League and was a member of the Order of American Patriots.) The Southern Committee for the Constitution paid the expenses of men who worked up attendance at Governor Talmadge's Macon convention. It paid $1,000 to The Statesman, Governor Talmadge's organ. It paid the expenses of delegates to the convention. It paid for advertising, for flags, for the band. But the Southern Committee upheld something besides the Constitution. Through Mr. Muse, it upheld race prejudice, for Mr. Talmadge's political purposes. Mr. Muse helped to prepare the copy for, and had printed, a circular which, according to him, "covered and littered over the South." It contained "a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt going to some nigger meeting, with two escorts, niggers, on each arm." This picture was in fact taken at Howard University, a Negro institution. The circular, according to The New York Times, contained editorials "hinting that Negroes were frequent guests at the White House during Mr. Roosevelt's term as President." Mr. Muse took some of these circulars to Macon with him. They were reproduced by The Georgia Woman's World, a copy of which was on the seat of every delegate at Macon. They were sold broadcast by the Election Managers' Association, which had an office in the Kirby Building.

Who paid the expenses of the Macon convention, through the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution? Southerners who might be expected to be excited about white supremacy? No; principally Mr. John J. Raskob and Mr. Pierre S. Du Pont, who together gave $10,000. "And did

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you go to see Mr. Raskob and Mr. Du Pont personally before they would let you have this money?" asked Senator Black. "Yes, sir," was Mr. Muse's reply, "I told them what I wanted it for." But other Northerners equally prominent contributed before and after the meeting. There was Mr. Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Mr. Prentiss of Hornblower and Weeks, Mr. H. C. Hopson of Associated Gas and Electric, Mr. E. W. Mudge, director of the Weirton Steel Co., Mr. Ogden Mills, and a long list of other business men and capitalists. A small minority of them actually did live in the South. But particularly well represented were millers in Minneapolis and bankers in Duluth. "Mr. Muse, this is a Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, is it not?" asked the chairman. "But it raises its funds anywhere there is people that believe in maintaining our institutions," replied Mr. Muse. Evidently. One doubts, however, whether there would have been much response from the poor farmers of Georgia to Gene Talmadge's bold effort to split Mr. Roosevelt's support if they had known he was being financed by the backers of the Liberty League. After the Senate Committee's revelations, Gene's revolt went up in smoke.

Sentinels and Liberty League

One of the older liberty-saving organizations, a forerunner of the American Liberty League, is the Sentinels of the Republic. The Committee learned about it from Mr. David F. Sibley, its assistant secretary, a Boston attorney. It was organized as a "charitable corporation" in 1922, by persons who had been active in opposition to women's suffrage, and chose as one of its first activities opposition to the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act, which it succeeded in repealing. Since 1924 it has waged a continual campaign against ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution. It has likewise opposed the movement for a federal department of education. More recently it fought against the Social Security Act, and took part in the agitation against publicity for income-tax returns.

Its "primary object" as stated in a letter by Mr. Alexander Lincoln, president, "is to maintain the fundamental principles of the Constitution, whereby a dual system of national and state governments was established." In another letter he wrote that the organizers of the Sentinels "had observed the growing tendency to centralization and bureaucracy in the federal government and viewed the situation with anxiety." The chief enemy of liberty at the beginning was regarded as the Children's Bureau and its allies. "Now we have a new element—the Brain Trust—and the Children's Bureau is in temporary obscurity."

The Sentinels were later quite ready to adopt the more recent temper of their natural allies. A letter from Mr. W. Cleveland Runyon to Mr. Lincoln quoted from a speech by Under-Secretary of Agriculture Rexford G. Tugwell in Los Angeles the following sentence: "For the movement will go on in any case; it lies in the brains and the blood of a people bringing into substance the stuff of old racial dreams." Mr. Tugwell was speaking, of course, of Americans and American dreams, but apparently Mr. Runyon mistakenly assumed that Mr. Tugwell was a Jew, for he commented somewhat ungrammatically, "Certainly, after that, not to mention the Jewish brigade Roosevelt took to Washington, there is no reason why the real issue should be smothered any longer." To which Mr. Lincoln replied, "I am doing what I can as an officer of the Sentinels. I think, as you say, that the Jewish threat is a real one. My hope is in the election next autumn, and I believe that our real opportunity lies in accomplishing the defeat of Roosevelt." And Mr. Runyon answered, "The people are crying for leadership and not getting it. Our leaders are asleep. The Sentinels should lead on the outstanding issue. The old-line Americans of $1200 a year want a Hitler." It is only fair to say that there is no record of a reply to this last suggestion, but it is also prudent to point out that the kind of person who wants an American Hitler is attracted by the Sentinels.

Another letter, from Mr. W. A. Wilson, of the faculty of Yale University, suggested upholding the Constitution by amending it on the reactionary side. "My own proposal," he said, "would be to strike out the general-welfare clause in Article I, Section 8." The idea was to prevent the government from using its existing constitutional right to serve the general welfare, aside from the specific powers granted it in other sections of the instrument. This suggestion was carefully considered by the Sentinels; such an amendment, if their plans mature, may be introduced in the next session of Congress. But it would hardly seem necessary, since a majority of the Supreme Court has already narrowly restricted the meaning of the existing welfare clause.

The Sentinels decided in August, 1935, not to oppose the Tydings-McCormack sedition bill (a bill that, as the American Civil Liberties Union points out, might be employed virtually to destroy freedom of speech and the press) but to oppose the Guffey coal bill and the Wheeler-Rayburn bill. At a later meeting it was reported that 1,900 papers "are taking our weekly editorials." Most of these journals are in small towns. The Sentinels, among their major activities, found time to oppose a bill to establish a juvenile court in the District of Columbia.

The principal financial supporter of the Sentinels has been Mr. Raymond Pitcairn, their national chairman, of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. Others of equal prominence, however, have helped him nobly with the burden. There is Mr. E. T. Stotesbury of J. P. Morgan and Co.—also Mr. Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Mr. Arthur W. Sewall of General Asphalt and Baldwin Locomo-

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tive, Mr. Samuel D. Warriner of Lehigh Coal and Navigation, Mr. Atwater Kent of Atwater Kent, Mr. John E. Zimmerman of the United Gas and Improvement Co., Mr. Irénée Du Pont, and many other business executives, bankers and utility men. There is a considerable overlapping between those who have contributed to the Sentinels and those who financed the Liberty League, after it was founded. Apparently the older organization suffered some loss of revenue to the newer one.

In a letter from Mr. W. M. Stayton, later secretary of the American Liberty League, to Mr. Lincoln of the Sentinels, we discover something about the origin of the Liberty League. The directors of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, meeting in New York on December 6, 1933, passed a resolution "suggesting that the individual members of the Executive Committee of the A.A.P.A. continue to meet from time to time and have in view the formation of a group, based on our old membership in the Association, which would in the event of danger to the federal Constitution stand ready to defend the faith of the fathers." They did so meet, not long before June 27, 1934, the date of Mr. Stayton's letter, and were unanimously of the opinion that the time had come for action. Mr. Stayton believed that perhaps the first duty of the new organization should be to oppose the Child Labor Amendment—though later he was convinced that this would be unwise. He was considering, he wrote on this and other occasions, what should be the relationship of the new organization to the Crusaders, the Sentinels, and the American Taxpayers' League. The older bodies, he wrote Mr. Lincoln on October 2, 1934, "are composed of good people," they have "very dignified and very able literature, and yet I am not able to make up my mind that they have accomplished very much, and feel rather sure that they have not been properly financed. . . . Now, on the other hand, when I look at the American Liberty League, I am astonished at the reception it has had. The number of members coming in and the amount of money coming in has been very extraordinary." Apparently the right formula had been found.

In the same letter Mr. Stayton said what he thought the policy of the Liberty League would be. "Broadly speaking, my feeling is that the federal jobholders are in effect a public enemy and they must be fought, and that the American Liberty League will in the long run be found fighting against the doings of federal jobholders, for they are seeking to enlarge their jobs and to spend the money of the people while doing it. I doubt very much whether the League will ever take up a mere question of expediency, but I do believe that it will not allow a single constitutional question to pass without challenge." And, to reassure Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stayton wrote in a subsequent letter, "In most of the fights which you have named, I would be with you without reservation"—that is, fights the Sentinels had fought.

We now know how prophetic Mr. Stayton was. The Liberty League, both in names and in contributors, was successful in assembling most of the reactionary and wealthy of America. Its principal supporters were members of the Du Pont family, but in the list of contributors were most of the prominent men who had given to the other liberty-saving organizations, and many others besides. It did fight all extension of governmental power, no matter what the emergency or what the possible benefits. In "preserving the Constitution," it even went so far as to form a committee of prominent corporation lawyers, who issued reports—in advance of the Supreme Court decisions—denouncing as unconstitutional the N.R.A., the A.A.A. and the Wagner Act to establish labor's right to collective bargaining, and to outlaw employer influence in forming or sustaining company unions. The League's pamphleteering has been voluminous and skillful.

Liberty League in Politics

No doubt the leaders of these liberty-saving movements are, in their own minds, sincere and desirous only of noble ends. But, objectively considered, the above data would seem to establish that this particular crusade for liberty conforms largely to the following formula:

1. The crusade is supported largely by big business and finance, in their own interest.
2. In ideas it assumes the protective coloration of American traditions, by using stereotypes like "liberty" and "the Constitution," which arouse automatic loyalty.
3. In action it assumes the protective coloration of a popular movement, while the support by men of wealth is concealed, or at least not advertised.
4. Its general objective is to limit or even to reduce the power of government as a dangerous rival which can, if not in the hands of big business and finance, challenge their economic power and their opportunities for profit.
5. The detailed and contributory objectives are to defeat legislation imposing taxation on those of large income, regulating or establishing competition with big business, or offering governmental protection or aid to women, children, the aged, the sick, or to small investors, labor and the farmer.
6. Those behind this crusade particularly fear and resent governmental investigations which reveal their objectives and methods. They defend themselves in some cases against publication of their telegrams, letters and documents by the plea that their activities, so closely concerned with public affairs, are private matters subject to the constitutional guarantees against search and seizure, or of freedom of the press.

George Soule.

The third article in this series will discuss "Liberty in Industry."—The Editors.

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Where the Money Comes From—and Goes

Some typical examples of contributions by big-business executives to organizations engaged in political activity, as taken from the records of the Black Committee.—THE EDITORS.

CONTRIBUTOR	CORPORATE AFFILIATIONS	ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH HE CONTRIBUTED
Addinsell, H. M.	Pres., Chase Harris Forbes Corp. Dir., Cities Service Power & Light Co., Phillips Petroleum Co., United States Electric Power Corp.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
Allen, E. M.	Pres., Mathieson Alkali Works, Dir., Austro-American Magnesite Corp., American Refractories Co., International Cement Corp.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, American Taxpayers League, National Economy League
Ames, Theodore	Partner Boody, McLellan & Co.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
Baker, George D.	Treasurer, Chalis Realty Corp.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, American Federation Utility Investors
Bamberger, Clarence	Officer and director of nine corporations, mostly mining and oil, and stockholder in 20 other similar corporations.	Crusaders, American Federation Utility Investors
Du Pont, Irénée	Vice chairman of the board of E. I. Du Pont De Nemours & Co. Member finance committee and director General Motors Corp.	Crusaders, Sentinels of the Republic, American Liberty League, Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, Minute Men and Women of Today
Du Pont, Lammot	Pres. and dir., E. I. Du Pont De Nemours & Co. Chairman and dir.. General Motors Corp. Dir., General Motors Acceptance Corp. and three banks.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, N. Y. State Economic Council, Economists National Commission on Monetary Policy, Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, Repeal Associates, Farmers Independence Council.
Echols, A. B.	Vice pres. in charge of finances and dir., E. I. Du Pont De Nemours & Co. Dir., Wilmington Trust Co., Gasselli Chemical Co., Du Pont Building Corp., Hotel Du Pont Co., Du Pont Viscoloid Co., Du Pont Film Mfg. Co.	Crusaders, Sentinels of the Republic, American Liberty League, American Federation Utility Investors, Economists National Committee on Monetary Policy. Taxpayers Research Council, Farmers Independence Council
Emery, Joseph H.	Member advisory board, Chase Nat'l Bank. Trustee Union Dime Savings Bank.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
Erickson, A. W.	Chairman of the board and dir., McCann-Erickson, Inc. and Congoleum-Nairn, Inc. Pres. & dir., Newskin Co., dir. Bon Ami Co., etc.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, N. Y. State Economic Council
Greef, Bernhard, Jr.	Partner, Greef & Co., brokers.	Crusaders, American Federation Utility Investors
Houston, George H.	Pres. and dir., Baldwin Locomotive Works, Standard Steel Works Co., and others.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, National Economy League
Hutton, E. F.	Former chairman of the board, General Foods, Inc. Chairman of the board, Zonite Products Corp. Dir., Manufacturers Trust Co., and Chrysler Corp.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
LaBoyteaux, W. H.	Pres., Johnson & Higgins; Wilcox Peck & Hughes; Elimar Trading Co. Dir., Grace Nat'l Bank, Merchants Ass'n., Curtin & Brockie, Albert Wilcox & Co.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, American Taxpayers League, National Economy League, Economists National Committee on Monetary Policy, Citizens Budget Commission
McCall, S. T.	Vice pres. and treas., Am. Brake Shoe & Foundry Co., Am. Manganese Steel Corp., etc.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, American Federation Utility Investors
Merrick, F. A.	Pres. and dir., Westinghouse Electric and Mfg. Co., Westinghouse Electric Elevator Co., Westinghouse Electric Supply Co., Laurentide Mico Co., Ltd.	Crusaders, National Economy League
Moffett, George M.	Pres. and dir., Corn Products Refining Co. Dir. six other large corporations.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
Montgomery, E. W.	Dir., two cotton mills and two cotton corporations.	Crusaders, American Liberty League.
Morris, E. M.	Pres., Associated Investment Co., Morris Finance Co., Motor Indemnity Ass'n, Motor Underwriters, Inc.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, Economists National Council on Monetary Policy
Morris, John A.	Member Gude, Winmill & Co. Pres., Gude, Winmill Trading Corp.	Crusaders, Sentinels of the Republic, American Liberty League, American Taxpayers League, American Federation Utility Investors
Pew, J. Howard	Pres., Sun Oil Co. Dir., Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., and Philadelphia National Bank.	Crusaders, Sentinels of the Republic, American Liberty League, American Taxpayers League, National Economy League
Purnell, Frank	Pres., Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
Rosenthal, Benjamin	Executive vice pres., U. S. Playing Card Co. Pres., Russell Playing Card Co.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, American Federation Utility Investors, N. Y. State Economic Council
Sams, E. C.	Pres., J. C. Penney Co.	Crusaders, American Liberty League
Schiff, John M.	Partner, Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Member of the executive committee of Western Union Telegraph Co.	Crusaders, N. Y. State Economic Council, National Economy League.
Sloan, Alfred P.	Pres., General Motors Corp. Dir., E. I. Du Pont De Nemours & Co., Pullman, Inc., and others.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, N. Y. State Economic Council, National Economy League
Strauss, Lionel F.	Director of eleven street railway companies.	Crusaders, Sentinels of the Republic
Van Alstyne, J. H.	Pres., Otis Elevator Co.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, N. Y. State Economic Council, League for Industrial Rights
Weir, E. T.	Pres., National Steel Corp., Weirton Coal Co., Weirton Steel Co., and others.	Crusaders, American Liberty League, National Economy League
Woodward, Wm.	Honorary chairman of the board of Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co. Dir. of seven other corporations.	Crusaders (sound money comm.), American Taxpayers League

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The Little Hitlers at Asheville

THERE was a photograph from Spain in the papers that morning, the wrecked interior of a church, and one of the delegates to the National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen showed it to me. She was a nice old lady with faded blue eyes and gray hair and many wrinkles on her forehead. It was hot in the Middle West, where she had come from, and she was glad to be in Asheville where it was cool. When, looking in a rather terrified way at the picture, she said that she did not want to see anything like that happen here, I could well understand her fears—Christ decapitated, the Virgin shattered, a Red anti-Christ over us, his wings spreading like a dark plague across the world. I understood, also, the way she responded —both mentally and emotionally—to the excitements and alarms that for five days filled the air. Our land, our homes, our children are threatened. The anti-Christ has landed on our shores. To the battlements, God's children! Christians, to arms!

But these, certainly, are no new cries. Mr. Hearst has made innumerable editorials ring with their sound. We may find them, some day, painted into posters: ENLIST TODAY in big black letters and, instead of Uncle Sam, Christ himself pointing a commanding finger. They are important but not overly so. What made the National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen significant is that it was the first organized attempt, in the United States, to attack all kinds and degrees of radicalism with the symbols and concepts of Christianity.

A few facts, therefore, are in order. The guiding spirit of the Conference was the Rev. Ralph W. Noller, who told the press that "under formal call, issued by twelve outstanding clergymen of the nation, meeting in St. Louis, July 15, 1936," the Conference was convened. The Rev. Mr. Noller, however, was not willing to name the "twelve outstanding clergymen," nor was he inclined to deny the rumor that Mrs. Dilling, Harry A. Jung, James True and other such professional patriots had endorsed and promised to support the meeting. At any rate, the meeting was called—as The National Conference of Christian Ministers and Laymen. Before the Conference opened, however, the word "Christian" disappeared—a disappearance that split the Conference into two distinct groups: the Rev. Mr. Noller's and an opposition minority under Dr. Charles Vaughn of Los Angeles, the Rev. C. G. Campbell of Indianapolis and one Dr. Gerald Winrod of Wichita, Kansas. The reason for the split, it developed, was the fact that the leaders of the minority group had been led to believe that the Conference was not going to be devoted solely to an attack upon radicalism, but also to an attack upon the Jews.

There is good reason to believe that this was the case. In answer to an open letter which asked, among other questions, "Why has the word Christian been removed from the name of this conference?" and "Why are you attempting to intimidate those who are standing for the ideals which you propounded in your original literature?" the Rev. Mr. Noller made a very weak and dubious reply. "This," he said in an interview, "is not a theological conference. . . . It is a conference of representatives of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths who sincerely seek a revival in our land of Americanism, religion and righteousness." This brought forth scoffs from the minority leaders. They insisted that the original program of the Conference called for an attack upon the Jews and they were particularly outraged because Rabbi Abraham Frienberg, of Mount Nebo Temple, New York City, had been added to the list of speakers.

"They may call us anti-Semitic, anti anything else they want to," said one of the minority spokesmen. But "dragging a red herring across the trail won't change anything. From now on Christians in America are going to speak out. If there is a decent Jewish population in America that believes in decency, in Americanism, why haven't they stood up and denounced their brothers who are leaders in this communist movement?"

Consequently, instead of one conference, there were two. The Rev. Mr. Noller's group, still keeping up its pretense of a united religious front, devoted its time to attacking Communists (including the Methodist Church) and "Communist activities." The other was more frankly and unabashedly Hitlerite. Its attack centered on radicalism but, more especially, upon the Jews. At one of its meetings, copies of "Pelley's Weekly" and other pieces of Silver Shirt literature were distributed. The viciousness of this anti-Semitic propaganda was more than matched by the oratory of the speakers.

"The Russian Revolution," shouted Dr. Vaughn of Los Angeles, "was a Jewish baby. . . . The Jewish banking houses of Wall Street financed the Revolution and as a result 30,000,000 white Christian people have starved in Russia under Communistic rule. . . . We can only smash communism when the people want it smashed. Communism is anti-Christ and belongs to those who teach anti-Christ. It is time for Christians to assert themselves and accept the challenge hurled to them. It is time to get the whole gang of aliens and put them across the sea where they belong. *We believe it is Christian-like to deport these aliens!*"

This is a typical utterance: typical, not only for its distortion, but also for its savagery. The atmosphere of hate and intolerance in which the

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minority group held its meetings should be clear.

Meanwhile, in another auditorium, the Rev. Mr. Noller's majority group was holding its conference. Since the conference ran for five days, and since no time-limit was imposed upon the orators, I am simply going to list some speakers and put down some of the things they said. Further comment, I believe, is unnecessary.

The Rev. W. R. White, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

> There are insidious movements abroad . . . which are making subtle attacks upon the home, the church and the state. They would weaken the primary loyalties of life in order to realize a fanciful dream. Such a process will produce an increasing chaos which will result in the dictatorship of communism or fascism. Atheistic communism is the mother promoter of these schemes. . . . There are prominent churchmen in America who are giving tremendous support to radical movements in a most adroit way. . . . There are powerful movements in operation to undermine every institution sacred to the people.

The Most Reverend William J. Hafey, Catholic bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina:

> What plans can you formulate to effectively combat the world's common enemy, our Savior's shameless foe —communism? Making speeches and passing resolutions in defense of Christianity and our Constitution will be of little avail.

The Rev. John La Farge, associate editor of the magazine America, New York City:

> The price we are paying for the exclusion of religion from America's educational system is the appalling threat to our homes, our liberties and our civilization which we are facing today.

Colonel Orval Johnson, director general of the Reserve Officers Training Corps Association, Washington, D. C.:

> The Emergency Peace Campaign is now conducting the last of 500 speeches in as many cities in support of its plan of disloyalty. Two foreigners—George Lansbury, a member of the English Parliament, and Alfred Salter, of the same body—were imported to take charge of the field work of the campaign along with Kirby Page, author of the traitorous "slacker's oath." Why do we Americans need two members of the English or any other government on this earth to come to these shores and advise our people upon the necessity of disarming? The Emergency Peace Campaign is a sinister threat of the first magnitude to constitutional government in this country and should have your closest attention immediately. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Y.M.C.A., together with the Y.W.C.A., is doing everything possible to make a success of the peace campaign. Why? It is your business as Christian leaders to answer that question.

Mrs. Victoria Booth Demarest, leader of the America for God Crusade:

> "Let us look to the walls and to the gates of our country—for they are tottering! What are the walls and the gates of America? Government, law, morality, education, the church, the home—and through the materialistic and godless philosophy of communism and radicalism these walls and gates have been undermined. . . .

What caused the change in the Conference's plans was the fact that some of the Rev. Mr. Noller's "headline" speakers (Bishop Hafey and The Rev. Mr. LaFarge, it was rumored) refused to lend their names and presence to any anti-Semitic meeting. There was another change, also, that caused disgruntlement among the "minority" group. The Conference's original plan, they indicated, called for an attack upon the "radicalism" of President Roosevelt and upon the Jews who hold important positions in the administration. What caused this part of the program to be abandoned I do not know—but, in this light, whoever put up the money for the Conference might legitimately sue for fraud. Conventions cost money and even a small one like the Asheville Conference cannot be held for less than $5,000. That $5,000 came from somewhere and I doubt if it was donated simply to have a group of churchmen and flag-wavers say violent things about radicalism: not that it isn't worth $5,000 but simply because, in an election year, $5,000 might be better spent. What looked like a swell bargain—prominent churchmen attacking communism and radicalism, prominent laymen attacking Roosevelt as a Communist and a radical, more laymen attacking the Jews in the administration—$5,000 worth of passion and prejudice, in short—turned out to be beneath specifications.

Let me say, in conclusion, that I would not malign or slander any man who seeks to worship God in his own way. Protecting our freedom, we must also protect our freedom of religion. And it would be both stupid and absurd to call a person like the old lady who showed me the picture from Spain a fascist. She is not a fascist. She does not want to see people tortured and murdered. She wants to lead a decent, secure life and she wants other people to lead decent and secure lives too. She happens, however, since this is a time of fret and turmoil, to be frightened and confused. It is this fear and confusion that a fascist-tending group would seek to play upon. And now, among other things, they are saying that radicals (like the members of the Y.W.C.A. and the Churches of Christ) would deny and destroy her God. It is a subtle and insidious appeal.

Nor would I call men like the Rev. Mr. LaFarge and Bishop Hafey fascists. When they say that they seek to serve God, to be ministers of Christ, I believe what they say. I also believe, however, that they too are confused—possibly frightened: and that, in defending their God, they are articulating a philosophy that has made a shame and a mockery of their God in Germany. The gospel of Christ is not to be found in "Mein Kampf." And Christ, were he alive, would not be on Hitler's side.

HAMILTON BASSO.

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Washington Notes

Joseph's Mantle Falls on Secretary Wallace—
Plans for the Ever-Normal Granary—
Heavy Payments Cause Trouble

APPARENTLY the administration hopes to make great use of Secretary Wallace's favorite plan, the ever-normal granary, in the presidential campaign. It promises a more stable income for the farmer. It also guarantees the city dweller a sure supply of food. Undoubtedly the administration is worried about the possible effect of rising food costs on the urban voter. The ever-normal granary offers a partial defense against the Republican accusation that the administration aims to bring about an economy of scarcity.

Mr. Wallace delights to point out that the ever-normal granary is essentially the same plan that Joseph pursued in Egypt after his dream of the seven fat and seven lean kine, and that an ever-normal granary was established in China at the time of Confucius and maintained thereafter for fourteen centuries. A poetic fellow at heart, Mr. Wallace has lately taken to calling the ever-normal granary the "Joseph plan"—a designation that ought to soften the hearts of the Middle West church-goers who regarded his 1933 pig-killing as impious.

By whatever name it is called, it is primarily a crop-insurance scheme. Its object is to protect the farmer against the chances of the weather. No official explanation of the way in which it will function has yet been made, but a large amount of research work has been done by Department of Agriculture officials, and definite recommendations made. These call for the fixing of a "normal-yield" figure for each farm in the country raising wheat, corn or cotton—the three crops that will be dealt with at the outset. In bumper years, the farmer will be required to hand over to the government a predetermined percentage of his surplus—that is, of the amount above his normal yield. How this wheat, corn and cotton is to be stored is a problem that has not been entirely solved. The most desirable plan would be to have it kept, under government seal, on the farm on which it was grown, but many farms lack proper facilities. Probably a large part will have to be stored in government elevators and warehouses.

In years of crop-failure, like the present, the government will hand back to the farmer enough of this wheat, corn or cotton—or its equivalent in cash—to give him 75 percent of his normal yield. The experts are opposed to giving the farmer the whole of his normal yield. If he were wholly protected against loss, they argue that he might not try to get a crop at all in bad years, and might sit around the cross-roads store or county courthouse, smoking his pipe and drinking corn liquor.

The advantages of the ever-normal granary for the majority of farmers are obvious. The hardships of drought years, with their almost inevitable accompaniment of debt, would be banished. Year in and year out, the farmer would be assured of enough money to live on, and to buy at least part of his necessary working equipment. However, it is doubtful whether the plan will arouse much enthusiasm among the farmers on the extreme western edge of the farm belt, because of the size of the grain payments, or "premiums," that will be required from them. The Department of Agriculture experts are convinced that farmers all over the country cannot be asked to pay the same amount for protection against crop failure, since the risk is clearly much less in areas that are well watered than in dry ones. After extensive examination of the A.A.A. records, the experts have tentatively decided that a farmer in Maryland or Virginia, for example, need pay the government only 25 percent of his surplus in good years to be entitled to the 75 percent indemnity for crop failure. But—if the ever-normal granary plan is to be actually sound—a farmer in the region around Sheridan, Montana, would be obliged to hand over no less than 65 percent of his surplus in good years to get the same protection.

In brief, the farmers of Montana, and parts of the Dakotas, Wyoming, Nebraska and Colorado, would be compelled to cease being gamblers, and would have to reorganize their farms as permanent businesses. In years they had good crops and high prices, instead of buying expensive farm machinery, or a new automobile, or sending a child to the state university, they would be obliged to give from a third to a half of their total harvest to the government. (The exact amount would depend on the size of their surplus and the percentage of it required as "premium.") In the case of many family-sized farms throughout this area, it would mean that a man could never hope to make more than a bare living, and perhaps not that.

Many experts believe that the sooner the farmers of the Far West take stock of their situation from a hard-boiled business standpoint, the better. With great justification, these experts argue that the buffalo grass of the dry regions should never have been disturbed, that farmers have never made a decent living there, and never will. Although the farmers of the dry regions made relatively huge profits in a year like 1926, they have often gone broke, and been charges on the public treasury—as they are this year.

Technologically, it is always easy to find an answer to the farm problem. Socially, the problem is more complicated. These experts are unquestionably right, but it is very doubtful whether the members of the militant farm organizations will agree with them. What are the farmers of the dry regions to do, once they let their land return to grass? The Resettlement Administration is now trying to reëstablish the desperate cases among them on really fertile soil, but it is not prepared to resettle the whole population of the area. The militant farm leaders have a quite different program. They admit that farming in the dry areas is an uncertain business, but far worse than drought, they say, is the robbery that is practised on the farmer by the money-lenders, the railroads, the commission merchants, the Chicago Board-of-Trade speculators, the farm-implement trust. This year's drought has driven away all the weak-kneed among the Far Western farmers; those who remain have no wish to move. They say that they could not afford to buy equivalent farms in other parts of the country, and, trained to the farm, they have no chance of finding jobs in industry. What they want the government to do is to free them from banking and big-business exploitation. It is unlikely that they will accept the ever-normal granary as a substitute.

Washington. T. R. B.

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Other People's Money

Embattled Patriots of Wall Street—Howls and Profits Rise Together—Unlisted Gravy—Weep Not for R.F.C.

IT IS pleasant to have some cheery news from Wall Street. After all, the patriots there can hardly be happy, what with the fear that the nation they love so much is going to the dogs. If you enter that once primrose region you are apt to be button-holed, taken off into a corner and told that things are pretty black for the republic, for human liberty and democracy—three things they have always prized down there very highly. It is therefore a matter of surprise to learn that the boys who think thus are betting the other way.

For instance it is good news to hear that a Stock Exchange seat, which hit a low of $65,000, is now selling for $139,000. There is a gain of 113 percent. That represents also about the percentage of rise in the Street's confidence in the S.E.C. which is set up to rule it and which has shown unexpected bursts of "sound" sense. It was hardly to be expected that the Commission would see the logic in so many of the arguments of the Exchange spokesmen.

Of course there can be no doubt that things are going to hell. But there seems to be a rosy interlude, in which the buyers of stock are boosting prices on the strength of their going higher before going to hell. In July we are told the aggregate value of stocks rose by more than three billion dollars. Think of that! That's as much as Mr. Roosevelt will spend on recovery and relief this whole year. This means that the people who own shares have assessed their claims against what we are going to produce at a figure three billion higher than it was in June.

Over in Trinity Place things are even better. There under the spire of old Trinity, which continues to point to heaven where God still manages to hold on despite the helplessness of the Republicans, they are preparing to extend a once seriously threatened area of the Curb Market —the unlisted market. For the man who got knocked into a coma in 1933 by the collapse of his stocks and has just come back to consciousness this must be a most puzzling phenomenon. In 1933, when Mr. Roosevelt was serving a dispossess notice on the occupants of the temple, the unlisted market was supposed to be a very shady spot. Then it was a question how much an angry people would take away from the gentlemen-gamblers who haunt the exchanges. One of the things that was looked upon as certain to go was the unlisted market.

And why not? One of the chief reasons for a stock exchange is that it is an organized market where regulations may be set up for the protection of the investing public. That's a good reason. Hence on the big board no stock is traded in unless it is listed. To list it, the corporation issuing it must ask for listing and must answer many searching questions about its affairs. These answers are open to the public. This was a requirement of the Exchange long before the government took a hand in its affairs. The Curb had a similar rule. But over there they had an unlisted market —that is, a long list of shares which could be traded in but which had not gone through this formality.

Now either listing is a good thing or it is not. If it is a good thing for one stock, why is it not a good thing for another? If it is a good thing for the more responsible and legitimate corporations why is it not for all the little fly-by-nights as well? Why require listing on the big board —much more soundly managed—and not on the Curb?

When the Stock Exchange Act was passed, unlisted trading was limited for a fixed period to the extent of forbidding any additions to the list. After that it was forbidden altogether. The S.E.C. was directed to make a study of this and other subjects. The study was made. The experts of the Commission who made the study reported that unlisted trading was an evil and that it should be stopped. But the Commission threw the report out of the window and presently the chairman of the Commission turned up before a congressional committee asking Congress to repeal the prohibition on unlisted trading. That's one of the juiciest spots in the Curb. So why shouldn't the boys here feel pleased about it. Curb seats that were as low as $16,500 are now selling for $30,000. And they are preparing to make good use of their new grant of freedom by enlarging the unlisted market, now with the seal of approval of Congress and the Commission and particularly of the chairman of the latter. In fact you can find plenty of men in Wall Street who will assure you that the S.E.C. is actually one of the bright spots in the otherwise dark New Deal.

The R.F.C. is dated to expire on January 31. It should be permitted to die. But the demise should not be allowed to take place without provision for a congressional autopsy. In its inception this was one of Mr. Hoover's brilliant ideas for ending the depression by saving the debt structure. Hence billions were loaned to bankrupt banks, bankrupt mortgage companies and bankrupt railroads. This didn't save the bankrupt banks, most of which went to the boneyard anyhow. It didn't save the bankrupt mortgage companies, but it did probably save from jail a good many of the rascals who operated some of them. It didn't save the bankrupt railroads, since many of those aided have gone into receivership anyhow and others will certainly have to do so before anything can be done about our railroad problem. The one thing it saved was the depression by keeping alive the cluster of cancers which made the depression.

Mr. Hoover began it and Mr. Roosevelt continued it and in the same way. Now it should be permitted to go. There seems to be a feeling in Washington that the government should do a banking business for industry, lending to industries that are not considered good commercial risks. If this is sound, and I am sure it is not, the function should be turned over to a lending institution especially set up for that purpose. And the lending policy should be severely limited. That is, not another dollar of government money should be loaned out to save old debts. Loans, if any, should be strictly for expansions, new enterprise, new working capital. The bankrupt concerns we credit as no longer any good should be allowed to go. But whether the R.F.C. is continued or not, it is time to turn the X-ray and the scalpel on its carcass. Where have those billions been going, to whom, for what purpose and what has the government got for them? Those questions should be asked and answered before this episode is allowed to take its place in history.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

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Young Love, Etc.

ON "ROMEO AND JULIET" in the screen version I can only report that if you like the play as it stands and do not require something far and indefinable and somehow beyond, you will like it; if not, not. The picture is done well, but seems little more than that—and may no more be regarded as a commission of nuisance on the precincts of Shakespeare than it may be hailed as Hollywood's admission ticket to the rare pasturelands of art itself. (Shakespeare having sustained worse soilments, movies having known higher pastures in their own right.)

Leaving production values till later and taking the play as the thing, what would the story look like if it had been written last summer for production in the fall? How quick the criticism, how clear the analysis as you would read about it in the proper places. Love as between two young people and against the obstacle of their deep family feud (old stuff but dramatically vital, having both the motive power and necessary element of conflict implicit in it—what is more, there is a chance for hinting at themes of larger amplitudes: invocations to the stars, the quality of mercy, the workers' state or whatever else is current). But the love story isn't very well worked out—from within the characters and their situation, that is—because the chief dramatic instrument is not a motivation but a device, the ruse of a potion that will create the appearance of death, thus permitting escape and clearing the slate of both human and dramatic needs (this was known to the Greeks but is still effective, because the potion is the little brother of death himself, lending awe all around).

These matters are at the bottom of it, but there are others, especially in the beginning. There are good characters for the purposes of humor, armed turbulence, loyalty and disloyalty, and for the forward passes incidental to the action. And there is the shrewd employment of pageantry—the great families and the Duke in the square, the masque of the Capulets, etc.—to hold the eye while the plot machinery is set up and in motion. And though once we arrive at the main objective of the potion sequence these matters fall away, like so many tugs as the ship straightens on her course, they have served well. There is also good support by incident and coincidence—coincidence particularly and throughout, because without the chance failure of one messenger, the chance success of another, the rash expedition of the young man at the tomb, nothing would have come of it in the end: the lovers would either have been miserably married or spanked and parted again, Juliet becoming a lady poet, I like to fancy, Romeo signing up, say, in the navy (do him good, too).

But this begins to get over into the fact that the conventions acceptable as simple truth to one age are the hokum of another. Our stage has young lovers as brash and silly as Shakespeare's, but not in the same way, their foolishness being more guarded, their sighs and avowals less opulent. They are called Dick Powell or Jean Muir or something, and that is different. Love is still treated as a convention, but the convention has been brought considerably nearer to life, and for the most part we are spared the embarrassment of watching our Dick Powells die in blank verse, their agonies being little ones. I should say that the incidental people here (the true Shakespeare genius in character showing through) aren't enough to change the basic form, which seems hardly more than a gorgeous valentine—overlarge to the point of boredom at that.

These are rather mathematical considerations, and take no account of the play's mood—hard to feel now. And they leave out the poetry, which is at the heart of it, still vibrant after plot trappings have raveled and faded, and no harder to feel than the heritage of sunlight, for no one who can speak the words of our language with relish may fail at it. A little rich for our blood perhaps, and certainly (in a landscape of gray little poets, biting off important thoughts with a thin sound of effort and champing) a present discouragement. That time was simply an easier time for poetry, in which stars were near and familiar, and the ocean a wild brave thing to conjure with, and morning just walked in on them over the dew of hilltops; in which great matters could be made into such little words, and the little words so gallant; and there was nothing amiss if small conceits were blown up till a biological necessity like sleep became the death of the day's life, a weaver at the sleeve of care, a balm, a scarf, and all such things in color, set in rash bold enamel or inlay, made to leap, ring and tumble before the eyes in those great strutting periods or slight traceries, as of the breath on windowpanes. But enough of that. We are too wise now to be so simple again; such poetry is a bit too carelessly rapturous for our uses, and the attempt to recapture it on the stage seems to emphasize this, not alter it. Whatever devices the actor brings into play to reconcile the common feeling expressed with the uncommon quality of the expression, the fact still remains that through whole pages of "Romeo and Juliet" the character is no more than a peg to hang fine poetry on: if he can turn the words finely, well and good, but for us he has stepped out of character to declaim; and if he is a mere loudspeaker, then so much the worse.

So "Romeo and Juliet" must be accepted (and will be widely) as the framing of an old picture rather than the execution of a new one. But the framing has been done with admirable taste and earnest care. Shakespeare has been so studied and held in awe that where exigency demands extra music, the producers go to "Twelfth Night" for a song, and where the action of one scene requires more explanation they have taken a speech to fit the purpose from another. In casting they have got as good a group of small-part players as could be demanded: C. Aubrey Smith as the most solidly believable of all; Edna May Oliver as a good Nurse, but occasionally as an old warhorse smelling the sawdust; also Reginald Denny, Basil Rathbone, Andy Devine, etc. As to the leads, Norma Shearer is rather unappetizingly made up, but neither bad nor good and (surprisingly enough) usually content with just being in there trying; Leslie Howard has grace, intelligence and a flair for lines but the sophomorics of Romeo are too much for him and there are times when that sensitive horse's face of his, wrapped in these disguises, must lead to unfortunate giggles. But as Mercutio, John Barrymore is the real study. I hardly know what to say about it, but am sure there will never be seen on the boards so much scenery-chewing and rubber-face trickery until the day they put "Lear" into the Billy Minsky houses. OTIS FERGUSON.

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The Bandwagon

My frank opinion . . . is that God Himself, guiding the natural laws, gave us the quintuplets at this time when birth-prevention is so widespread, precisely to give a slap in the face to Mrs. Sanger and her votaries. . . . The quintuplets are heaven's reproof to the world.—*The Rev. Joseph A. Vaughan, S.J., in Our Sunday Visitor of Huntington, Indiana.*

He is a practical and intelligent liberal. He is not the type of man who indulges in experiments without knowing how they are going to come out.—*News item in The New York Times quoting William M. Chadbourne, treasurer of the New York County Republican Committee, regarding Governor Landon.*

The Mayor also said that the statue made war "appear too distasteful," and he feared it would have "a bad effect on our children."—*News item in The New York Times quoting Mayor W. Burdell Manister of Port Chester, N. Y., in opposition to a statue to be erected in Port Chester as a Spanish-American War memorial.*

Mr. Bennett (City Commissioner of Portland, Oregon) charged that the Communist Party and the United States Chamber of Commerce had joined hands in attempting to block economic legislation and because of this fact, among others, Mr. Bennett will not permit the Communists to use the auditorium any more.—*News item in the Portland, Oregon, Oregonian.*

WHICH NOBODY CAN DENY

For the purpose of this paragraph, a requirement to pay or set aside an amount equal to a percentage of earnings and profits shall be considered a requirement to pay or set aside such percentage of earnings and profits.—*Revenue Act of 1936, section 26, paragraph C 2.*

WHATEVER BECAME OF THAT FELLOW SHAKESPEARE?

World premier. . . . Astor. . . . Thursday, 8:30 P.M. Melodrama . . . blood-curdling hand-to-hand encounters . . . spectacular as the aurora. . . . Truly here is a feast for all eyes . . . the greatest romance since time began, in a setting of pulse-throbbing thrills . . . the story of a family feud that rings down through the ages. Here at last is the final flower of motion-picture achievement. . . . Norma Shearer, Leslie Howard, "Romeo and Juliet," with John Barrymore.—*All the large-type material in a recent motion-picture advertisement in the New York daily newspapers.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—THE EDITORS.

CORRESPONDENCE

Why There's "Couple Trade"

SIR: I note your article in the July 29 issue on the "couple trade."

Usually New Republic articles present both sides of a case, let the chips fall where they may, so why not say something as to why this tourist-camp couple trade is flourishing? For example:

Women who go to these camps with men are seldom "prostitutes," but are almost altogether just ordinary persons doing what their mothers, sisters, aunts and grandmothers did before them. The tourist-camp method is best suited to modern conditions.

Grandmother didn't have the police coming around and poking their heads in an automobile and demanding a rake-off for silence.

Grandmother didn't have a lot of scum coming around with a gun and robbing her escort and raping her because she happened to be off the road a few hundred feet.

Grandmother did have the town snoop to report the news all over town, and we have the same now.

Calexico, Calif. JOHN GOFORTH.

England and the Spanish Revolt

SIR: Could you enlighten one of those ignorant Spaniards the papers talk about on the reason for the indifference of English public opinion towards the heroic struggle of the people of Spain for the preservation of democracy? Having watched for a year the frenzied state of the famous English public opinion against fascist interference in Ethiopia, I sort of expected some indication of disapproval towards fascist attempts to suppress government by the people in Spain. It is most humiliating to reflect that the English were almost ready to go to war to keep fascism from Ethiopia but apparently think that is just what the Spaniards need. Most humiliating.

Perhaps your answer to this question, Mr. Editor, will save my asking another, this one concerning all those nice gentlemen and ladies that through last summer, fall and winter did so very much to keep Haile Selassie for the Abyssinians, here in these United States. Perhaps what makes them keep so quiet about Spain is the same thing that keeps the great English democracy so silent. I could not believe that the consciences of all those ladies and gentlemen cannot be stirred except from Downing Street. Could it be that they feel they do not know enough about Spain, not so much as they did last year about Ethiopia?

Or is the summer weather to blame for such moral callousness? Can it be that the rule of the people will be killed in Spain because now is no season for Anglo-Saxon gentlemen and ladies to go to lectures of the Foreign Policy Association?

Provincetown, Mass. IGNORANT SPANIARD.

Spain and the Church

SIR: Since The New Republic is supposed to be free and untrammeled, would you mind telling your readers that the rebels in Spain are the old ultra-Catholic group, naval and military, lay and clerical, and that the pretense that the Vatican, including the excluded Jesuit order, is "not interested in either side in Spain" is pure humbug? The Catholic party and its adherents are the rebellion—the aim of which is to exalt church over state, and restore literal and practical peonage for the wretched Spanish masses on farm or in factory. Moreover, won't you inquire of Father Coughlin, Bishop Gallagher and Bishop Schrembs who have defended Coughlin on account of his adherence, so they say, to the labor encyclicals of the Popes—which, by the way, are supposed to be just the thing the United States should put in practice—why it is that neither Spain, Italy, Austria and Belgium, France nor any of the other Catholic countries seem to have profited by these encyclicals? Instead in Belgium, Spain and Austria particularly the only redress the laboring people have as against their lay Catholic overlords is to turn anti-clerical. No one over them gives a rap for these facing-both-ways encyclicals. At best they have a nuis-

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ance value, largely for consumption in America, as Coughlin would remake it. Why should the Vatican leaders be horrified over the Spanish horrors? They are trying to win by them. The Church is the arch rebel.

New York City. JOHN R. MCPHERSON.

Coughlin and the Jews

SIR: There is only one conclusion which the intelligent reader can come to, from the reports of Father Coughlin's convention: namely, that he is not only a fascist, but a fascist of the Hitler variety. Not content with a demagogic, rabble-rousing explanation of how the Jews "were forced to take to trafficking in gold" (or inversely, the Jews are the financial oligarchy who must be chased out of the temple), he must finish off his series of orations with an exhortation to the Jews to relinquish the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, for the gospel of Christian love. Make no mistake about it, he is a cunning and dangerous man with whom, in comparison, Hitler and company are but amateurs. The New York Times characterized today's speech as a challenge. It is more. It is a threat. How else explain his solicitude for this "persecuted people?"

Brooklyn, N. Y. AABIE MORGANSTERN.

The Music Festival at Yaddo

SIR: Yaddo, at Saratoga Springs, New York, is extending its hospitality from August 24 to September 13, 1936, to a group of musicians to be known as the Yaddo Music Group. About twenty composers, performers, and composer-performers are being invited for the three-week period.

The musical activities of the group will fall into two categories: (1) A series of informal performances to take place every other day in the late afternoon or evening; (2) a series of programs during the last three days, to which the public will be invited.

While a large part of the time will be devoted to contemporary American music, it is planned also to perform music of past periods, particularly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The group will be committed to no thesis in regard to contemporary music, and one of its objectives will be to break down the artificial division which is often made between modern music and music in general.

Persons outside the group may obtain invitations to either the formal or informal performances by addressing a request to Mrs. Elizabeth Ames, Executive Director, Yaddo, Saratoga Springs, New York.

Saratoga Springs, N. Y. ELIZABETH AMES.

Credit to The New York Post

SIR: In your issue of August 12 you state that the Newspaper Guild is now meeting with an apparent united front of publishers in New York City. Ought you not give credit to The New York Post as an exception to this united front? See The Post's editorial on the Guild situation in its issue of August 8.

Rensselaerville, New York. DR. L. ELDRIDGE.

[The New York Post does indeed have a contract with the Newspaper Guild and has given strong editorial support to the organization.—THE EDITORS.]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Edward H. Donnel Jr. of Washington, D. C., sends us a long letter stating emphatically his belief that political patronage under the present administration has been "wholesale job racketeering in carload lots." He thinks that Herbert O'Rourke's recent article in our pages, "Farley Versus the Civil Service," "did nobody a service," and that "The New Republic does its readers an ill service to copy him" when, in "The Balance Sheet of the New Deal," we say that compared with previous administrations the level of the present one is on the whole about the same in this regard.

Dr. R. A. Kocher writes from Carmel, California, concerning an article by Charles Morrow Wilson, "The Chemist Takes a Hoe," published in The New Republic of July 22. He states that sucrose, far from being deficient in food value, as the article said, has a food value of about 1,800 calories a pound, and constitutes an average of 20 percent of the caloric value of the food consumed in the United States; that xylose has not been shown to have any nutritional value in diabetes or any other ailment, contrary to Mr. Wilson's statement; and that the Jerusalem artichoke does not contain glucose or levulose, but sucrose, identical chemically with cane sugar. He adds that Mr. Wilson might have included, as a possibility in utilizing farm waste cellulose, the acid hydrolysis of cellulose, by which process yields as high as one thousand pounds of glucose per ton of cornstalks or straw have been obtained, and, by fermentation of the glucose, up to sixty gallons of ethyl alcohol per ton. In reply to Dr. Kocher's letter, Mr. Wilson disavows any claim to expert knowledge as a chemist, but says that he did check his facts with sources believed to be valid. Mr. Wilson continues, "I respectfully suggest that Dr. Kocher present his arguments to the Bureau of Chemistry and Soil of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and to the Agricultural By-Products Laboratories at Ames, Iowa. If his statements are correct—and I am personally no authority to say whether they are or are not—I believe that they should be made public. . . . It is only fair to state that commercial interests backing a given source of sugar have a way of presenting their own products as the most valuable; competitive products and sources the least valuable. In presenting the article I tried to remain neutral."

The American Writers' Union announces that it is coöperating with other labor unions in raising funds to aid the Spanish workers in their struggle against fascism and will welcome contributions sent to the Union's headquarters, 15 Charles Street, New York City.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has obtained permission from France and the United States for Fred Werrmann, anti-Nazi originally ordered deported to Germany, to land in France instead. This move will probably mean the saving of Werrmann's life, and the Committee, whose headquarters are at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is seeking to raise $250 to pay his passage. . . . Clyde L. Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the Share-Croppers' Union, P. O. Box 859, New Orleans, La., reports that this year the Union is stronger than ever and says that contributions will be welcomed for the $3,000 strike-relief fund which the union is trying to raise. . . . The American Student Union, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, has appointed a defense committee and is assembling funds for a campaign to bring about the reinstatement of Robert Burke, Columbia College student, president-elect of the junior class and amateur boxing champion, who has been denied readmission to Columbia University officially because of a "breach of good manners," but actually, the Union alleges, because he led a demonstration against the sending of a Columbia representative to the Nazi Heidelberg celebration.

What's on the Air?

Winifred Mayne Van Etten, winner of the $10,000 novel prize of the Atlantic Monthly Press for her first book, speaks on "Once I Wrote a Novel." Monday, August 31, 5 to 5:30 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

A. D. Stedman, of the A.A.A., and others describe the "Progress of the Agricultural Conservation Program." Tuesday, September 1, 1:30 to 2:30 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Latest returns from The Literary Digest presidential poll are broadcast every Monday, Wednesday and Friday evening, 7:15 to 7:30 over the Blue (WJZ) network of N.B.C. John B. Kennedy acts as commentator, with guest speakers. Series starts Wednesday, September 2.

George V. Denny, associate director of the League for Political Education, in trans-Atlantic broadcasts from Brussels, Belgium, describing events and personalities at Universal Peace Conference. Thursday, September 3 and Saturday, September 5, from 6 to 6:15 P.M. over the N.B.C.-WEAF network in both instances.

Sir Walter Citrine and others at the congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Plymouth, England. Monday, September 7, 4:45 to 5 P.M., NB.C.-WEAF.

All times given are Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Spain in Revolt

THE STORY is of the Spanish revolution as it affected the tenants and hired hands of Don Fadrique Guevara y Muñaroz, Marquis of Peral, in the olive fields where his ancestors had ruled and theirs had labored for more than twenty generations. At its best, the hard life of the olive workers had been deeply rewarding. Their year was a full cycle, from the cultivating and pruning of the trees early in spring, through the fight against the mid-summer drought, to the harvesting and pressing and pickling of the fruit that began late in September and continued until it was time again for pruning and cultivation. In the good years there was bread enough, with sweet oil and sour red wine and the music of Andalusian guitars; there was the Church to sanctify the cycle of growth by transforming it into ritual. But during the days of Don Fadrique, the life that centered in the olive fields was in a state of catastrophic decay.

The master in these times had no interest in his lands except as a source of revenue, the priests were ready to betray their people, the olive workers were being paid less and less, till they starved and became rebellious—the Anarchists among them wanted to destroy all the old institutions, to level everything with dynamite; the Communists were trying with arguments and fisticuffs to enforce a more reasonable course, to preserve the state machinery for the workers, and meanwhile the old order that oppressed them both was being supported only by the guns of the Civil Guard. Soon one force would be measured against another, the workers in their disunited millions against the trained regiments brought over from Morocco.

That is the real story as it carries us from 1931 to 1934. There is also a plot, which is something less essential. It concerns a girl courted soberly by a Communist named Joaquin Caro, but seduced by his friend Mudarra, a wild, heroic, guitar-playing Anarchist. All three of them go to Asturias in the hope of finding work in the mines. Lucia is reconciled with Caro and returns with him to the olive fields, but only after the Moorish troops have taken Oviedo and the Anarchist has been tortured to death.

"The Olive Field"[1] has almost every quality that one expects of the finest novels. It has a great theme, perhaps the greatest that is possible in our age. It has even two themes, ritual and revolution, and sometimes plays one against the other in skillful counterpoint (as witness the chapter in which the Anarchists meet to quarrel in the Caro cottage, while outside an old plowman sings a song about the mysteries of Christ's passion). It has characters presented sympathetically, without either the condescension or the forced admiration that has ruined so many proletarian novels.

The book has a new setting with which the author is thoroughly familiar—so much so that he gives us not only the present but the past of Andalusia, and not only its politics and economics as applied to daily life but also its music, its religion, its essential poetry. The book has fabulously rich descriptions of Spanish landscape, it has scenes of shattering violence and it has, beyond all this, a breadth of conception that one would not think to associate with minor fiction.

The trouble is that these qualities are never completely welded and sometimes interfere with one another. For example, the author's knowledge of Andalusian life (particularly in the olive fields) impedes the story at the beginning by cluttering it with technical terms. For example, the interwoven themes often get in each other's way, the ritual of the soil distracting our attention from the drama of revolution and the love story having little to do with either. For example, the author's sympathy with all his characters keeps him from portraying any convincing villains (there is a priest, Don Mamerto Soriano, who ought to be a villain, but the author simply can't persuade him to play the role). For example, his tenderness toward the Spanish nation makes him flinch in the face of cruelty or bloodshed and thereby weaken the bold climax toward which he has been leading us.

Here, then, is a novel pushed back into the second or third rank by an excess of the qualities that should make it great. If it had been published in any other year, this might have been the final judgment. But it happens that Ralph Bates's novel about revolutionary Spain appeared in the very week when Spain was plunging into a counter-revolution. It happens that newspaper reports about what is happening today in Andalusia and Asturias are on the whole less trustworthy than reports from Abyssinia or China. We are being subjected to a campaign not merely of propaganda but of falsehood and deliberate fabrication. We are being asked to believe that the Spanish government is entirely composed of Red Communists who spend their days burning down churches and their nights torturing priests—to say nothing of killing hostages by the tens of thousands—while the Moorish infantrymen and Italian aviators of Franco's army are the true Spanish patriots who will save their country for civilization and property and religion, even if they wipe out all its inhabitants in the process.

At such a time "The Olive Field" is important not as fiction, but rather as a careful and accurate picture of the present conflict. It is true that the book deals with events preceding the socialist revolt of 1934 and ends with the fall of Oviedo. But like all honest books it has the power of extending itself from yesterday into the future. Much of it, indeed, is being reënacted. Oviedo is again besieged, this time by comrades of the Asturian miners who were cornered there and nearly exterminated by a Moorish army. They are fighting with sticks of dynamite, lighting the fuses from cigars and tossing them at the enemy, just as Bates describes them in his next-to-last chapter. In Andalusia, far to the south, the Moorish troops and the Foreign Legion are capturing one after another of the villages among the olive fields; they are taking no prisoners. Last week I saw a news photograph of women in an Andalusian town rushing into the streets to beg the lives of their men from the invading soldiers. Lucia might have been one of those women. Joaquin Caro might have been one of the Communists in another photograph—twenty of them with their hands clasped over their heads being led down the street to execution. But it would seem more likely that he escaped to the hills a second time, with his rifle, to carry on till help came from the North.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

[1] The Olive Field, by Ralph Bates. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

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William Morris

William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist. Unpublished writings, edited by May Morris. Vol. I: The Art of William Morris; Morris as a Writer. Vol. II: Morris as a Socialist, with an Introduction by Bernard Shaw. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell. 1,350 pages and 1,932 pages. 52s. 6d.

THE LONG and ill defined Victorian period may be said to have produced three great prophets: Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris. That is their chronological order, and it has commonly been considered their order of rank. In my own Victorian boyhood I was familiar with the name, if not much with the writings, of Carlyle; a little later I became interested in Ruskin; I had passed youth when I became attracted to the activities of Morris and personally acquainted with the man.

Today, it may not be risky to say, the values of these prophets have been reversed. Carlyle belongs definitely to the past; we recognize his right to a pedestal, and there leave him. Ruskin, once foremost as an art critic, has in that aspect long since lost significance, though as an economist, once disregarded, he has sometimes later been taken seriously. But the figure of William Morris, whom even his friends disrespectfully called "Topsy," grows more imposing as the years go by.

As usually happens, the more immediate effect on his fame of his death forty years ago was a phase of indifference or hostility. Both sides of his activities were indeed affected by new fashions. On the one hand the Pre-Raphaelite movement which he had championed—though when it arose it had been greeted as a revolt against dead academicism—was in its turn swept away by a new wave of influence in art. On the other hand the elder socialist activities were giving place to the propaganda of a younger school devoted to systematic Marxian economics, with eyes turned to Germany and inclined to look back on Morris as a sentimental idealist sending out News from Nowhere. That phase may be said to have ended. On both sides of his multifarious activity we may now appreciate William Morris with a balanced sanity not before possible.

This approach is greatly aided by the publication of two substantial volumes in which his daughter May Morris has gathered together, and supplemented with a helpful commentary, the chief of his short minor writings, some never before published and none easily available. They are all significant, the first volume concerning his art and authorship, the second his socialism. Born into a wealthy family and later always able to earn his living in other directions, he was not tempted to write for money, and he loathed writing letters (so that I count myself fortunate to possess, though never within his intimate circle, some half dozen); he only wrote when he had something to say.

As we make our way through the first volume, dealing with the various arts—and Morris was at home as a skilled practitioner in several—it is astonishing to find how fresh and to the point these clear and vigorous utterances are even for today. Morris had strong personal likes and dislikes, but we are seldom aware of them except when mentioned by his daughter. He is never concerned to appraise his friend Burne-Jones or to disappraise the eighteenth century, for which we otherwise know he felt contempt. Refusing to regard himself as a critic, when such occasions arose he was content to growl to himself about "damfools."

It has often been supposed that what Morris wanted was a return to the Middle Ages. He desired nothing so absurd. Much as he admired many medieval products, he knew that the change from the medieval society of Status to the modern society of Contract was necessary, and truly deserved to be called a New Birth. With whatever of good it lost and whatever of evil it brought, "it was," he said, "a necessary instrument for the development of freedom of thought and the capacities of man, for the subjection of Nature to his material needs." He urgently wanted not to go back but to go forward. He was not in love with the word "civilization" as applied to our social state, especially since it bound the living body of the New Birth to "the dead corpse of a past art." What he called the "crimes of civilization" were three—Carelessness, Squalor, Ugliness.

By "art," it need scarcely be explained, he meant something large. It covered "all those who make things," and with them, he held, lies not only the future of art but of life. "Our aim must be to hallow labor by art." Craftsmanship in the old sense he knew to be dead; modern craftsmen work as machine inventors, experimentalists, scientists, above all surgeons: "You cannot get a good house built nowadays but if you want your leg cut off—my word! how well you can get that done." He wanted, however, "to make life happy and dignified for *all* people," and to heighten the vitality of all the arts of life. In whatever direction he turned with this aim in view we note how up to our date today he already was half a century ago. His personal contributions to the various decorative arts have been unconsciously absorbed by the artists of Europe and America. He was all his life specially interested in architecture, for instance, and was the energetic pioneer, amid much opposition, of the now established "protection" of ancient buildings, in place of the "restoration," which, as he pointed out, meant falsification, and was far from helping us to enrich the present with the precious heirlooms of the past. At the same time we find him planning ideal blocks of dwellings for the workers, with spacious conveniences and surrounded by gardens, the erection of which would have been inconceivable in his day, but which now, of an exactly similar kind, are springing up in all industrial centers. As I have sometimes had occasion to point out, the idealistic Utopian of today is the realist of tomorrow.

The second volume is preceded by an Introduction by Bernard Shaw: "Morris as I Knew Him." In these reminiscences Shaw avoids those paradoxes with which of old he sought to infuriate the conventional reader, and sets down his memories in a simple, intimate, matter-of-fact way. They vividly bring back my own memories of the same period, though my acquaintance with Morris was much slighter. At one time I saw him seated in a cart at a Hyde Park demonstration among proletarian "comrades," nervously twitching his beard. At another time it was my part (since I had arranged the occasion) to greet him when he arrived in his usual friendly and simple way to speak for an association with which I was connected. Again, I met him accidentally at the Avelings, always the same unmistakable figure, as he once precisely described himself, "thickset and short, and dressed in shabby blue."

It may fairly be said that Morris's socialism was the direct outcome of his wide activities as artist and craftsman. He was not born to it. Brought up in a wealthy bourgeois family, he was well-to-do, in spite of generosity, throughout his life, and always able to earn money in business. At the outset he was intended for the Church, and in politics he began as a Gladstonian Liberal. While still in that phase he was much influenced by Ruskin and to some extent by Charles Kingsley. He soon found the main body of liberals too tame and joined their advanced group of radicals. But his aim as an artist—"to make life

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happy and dignified for *all people*"—transcended narrowly national political aims. By 1880 he was protesting against "the Patriotism which is merely National Vain-glory and can only lead in the end to widespread destruction." So it was that in 1884 he turned towards the wider aims of socialism.

He called himself a Communist. But we have to remember that he thereby meant something different from the creed we today associate with the Bolsheviks. It is true that he attempted—with "anguish," his daughter says—to read Marx. But he never claimed to be the partisan of any system, and—unlike so many people today—he never pretended to any precise knowledge in the obscure field of economics. "I do not believe in the world being saved by any system," he said, though he demanded the alteration of a system grown corrupt. He was content to speak of what he knew and what he desired with clear insight and fine common sense. He would not even call himself a collectivist. He often said, we are told, that he would no more tolerate the tyranny of collectivism than that of capitalism.

He was indeed, we have to recognize, first of all an individualist. He desired a society which would make a real individualism possible, in place of a society only calculated to produce a few plutocrats at the expense of the masses. "Healthy and undomineering individuality will be fostered and not crushed out by socialism." He believed in social revolution, but he was careful to explain what he meant by that term—"the gradual but uncompromising building up of a society founded on the equal rights of labor, and the gradual but uncompromising destruction of the present state of society which is founded on the supposed right of property, or the strongest individual, to enslave labor at its will." The common conception of revolution as a violent upheaval he does not seem to have thought it necessary to notice, and his experience had made him suspicious of sudden popular uprisings. He held that the social revolution can only come after a long period of persuasion and education, and that doubts, hesitations and mistakes are inevitable.

Morris was an individualist, and I would view him as a typical English individualist. It is true that he sometimes liked to call himself a Welshman, and on one side he was so, even in temperament and disposition. But on the other side he was English. It is interesting to observe that while his early work in poetry, up to and including "The Earthly Paradise," was definitely Celtic in character, later in life he became enthusiastically drawn to the Nordic genius, especially as manifested in Iceland. The kinship thus revealed was so genuine that his version of the Volsung saga now often appears as his chief poetic work. He thus embodied the two main strains which we may regard as making up the "English" type, just as in his practical activities generally he united the aptitudes of "a nation of shopkeepers" and "a nation of poets," while yet remaining supremely, in the largest sense, a craftsman—for though his brain was always at work his hands were never still.

We are impressed through this second volume not only by the immense energy Morris found it possible to put into work for his socialist ideals, but by the special qualities he displayed. He was a man of prompt decision, highly nervous in temperament, naturally impatient of opposition. Yet his patience, forbearance and tact in dealing with the incompatible committee members of the socialist societies with which he became entangled were remarkable. He knew that a really human state of high order could be built up only on a genuinely coöperative foundation. Hence that word "fellowship" which occurs so persistently in his writings. But there was little real fellowship even among the would-be builders of the new state, and for all his friendly consideration Morris eventually found it impossible to combine either with a domineering member of his own educated class like Hyndman or with the often ignorant, obstinate and sometimes drunken committee members of the proletarian class. My wife, who as secretary of the Fellowship of the New Life, a little group at the same period trying to realize some socialist aims, experienced the difficulties of "fellowship" in a "Fellowship House" (which happened to include as leading spirit a certain Ramsay Macdonald afterwards better known), would later repeat with a smile the words from the "Dream of John Ball": "Fellowship is Heaven and lack of fellowship is Hell," but transposing the words "Heaven" and "Hell." I do not suppose that Morris himself would ever have approved that perversion of his famous saying. But he withdrew from socialist societies, to be content with the more congenial little group that gathered around his house at Hammersmith, while yet remaining indefatigably devoted to the cause so long at his heart.

When in 1896 he died, his robust constitution worn out by tremendous labors, his significance was hardly realized, save by a few critics of independent insight like Stopford Brooke. It was scarcely understood even by his biographers. Today we can see that he was a keen and far-sighted pioneer along roads on which—whether or not we talk about "Social Revolutions"—we are actually moving, however slowly and painfully. HAVELOCK ELLIS.

Consumers' Utopia

Consumer Coöperation in America, by Bertram B. Fowler. New York: The Vanguard Press. 315 pages. $2.

Coöperative Democracy, by James Peter Warbasse. New York: Harper and Brothers. 298 pages. $2.50.

MARQUIS W. CHILDS, in his introduction to "Consumer Coöperation in America," says that it is a hopeful book, filled with the author's enthusiasm. That is also true of "Coöperative Democracy." Both Mr. Fowler and Mr. Warbasse have written long tracts to show that consumers' coöperation is the only way out of our economic morass—that indeed it is the answer to all our problems, from the high cost of babies' milk to the high cost of funerals; it will bring international peace, and it will even save Christianity from growing indifference and skepticism.

Coöperatives are sound in principle; they are growing rapidly; and they should by all means be encouraged. More power to them. But they do not provide an economic system, a philosophy and a religion all rolled into one. If the coöperative movement is to succeed, its adherents should not be led to expect everything. Dr. Warbasse is less restrained than Mr. Fowler in claiming that coöperation is the panacea for an ailing world, though Mr. Fowler claims a lot. Dr. Warbasse says that coöperatives may become a non-political political party; he has an outline for a weird constitution of a coöperative state, which would abolish all courts and laws and settle disputes by arbitration.

Most economists would say that coöperatives are limited to the consumers' goods industries, but Dr. Warbasse holds that the people could, independently of the state, undertake "to build bridges, to provide electricity, to maintain lighthouses, to issue weather reports, to prevent animal diseases, to regulate traffic, to control quarantine and to do a thousand other good things." The imagination of this reviewer is prostrated from attempting to visualize either a

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Traffic Control Coöperative or a Quarantine Coöperative.

Both books are weak and vague upon the history of co-operatives that have failed. They oversimplify economics to smooth the way for the "philosophy" of coöperation. The best that can be said of them is that they bring together a considerable amount of material about an important movement that can help us a lot, even if it can work no miracles.

DAYTON D. MCKEAN.

Art of Another Continent

The Spirit of Man in Asian Art, by Laurence Binyon. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 232 pages and 70 plates. $4.

AS CORNEILLE and Racine turned toward classical Greek drama for their inspiration, so Mr. Binyon has turned to the Far East, to the art of China, Japan, Korea, India and Persia. There is life—the wholeness of it, full of vitality and vigor—in what he has to tell in these six lectures concerning the creative achievement of another continent, reminding us that the language of art is not addressed to the intelligence, but goes far deeper. In the opening lecture he speaks of Chinese art: "This then is one thing that I would emphasize . . . its continuity with the primitive and its slowly widening and all-embracing sympathy with living things. It has its roots deep in the earth." In all Asian art he finds the same absorption in the plastic, in the line that lives, the line on which the artist projects himself into this intermediate life of animate and inanimate nature, not from any "intellectual curiosity, rather from natural sympathy."

Mr. Binyon sees a unity in Asian art—it is interesting to note that calligraphy is of great importance in all the countries he has taken up—and he philosophizes about the common characteristics displayed in China, Persia, India or Japan. There is the refusal to paint the blurred darkness of night, or to represent the cast shadow, or to paint an object with reference to an observer (that is, to use perspective) and also the portrayal of emotion subtly diffused rather than concentrated upon a human figure, a human face. Of interesting contrast in Eastern and Western art is the treatment of old age, spoken of by the Greek poet as "hateful to boys and despised among women." To the Chinese, old age is tranquil and peaceful, the time of beauty and strength, since then alone man can cease being a slave to the senses.

> Submission to the fact of mutability in a spirit of resignation is not, however, as we shall see later on, the attitude of the Chinese mind which most impresses; it is a sort of exultance, rather, in being a conscious part of the Protean life that streams and flows through all things.

It is the Chinese passion for the sublime energy of motion which has created the dragon, a creature of infinite motion moving through boundless space. That which is a most terrible devil to the Western mind is an unchallenged titan. "Everywhere in Asia it is the Chinese art which has enjoyed the greatest prestige." This, although the religious element in Chinese art has come from Buddhism. To Buddhistic influences upon art, the Chinese contributed their own philosophy from Taoism, which emphasized the eloquence of reserves, silences, the utility of empty space. And hence the emphasis upon suggestion. Persian art differs from the Chinese, Korean and Japanese in this respect, for although Persian painters after the thirteenth century were influenced by the Chinese, spacing was unknown to them. In Japanese art this love of suggestion approaches the extreme, becomes the most esoteric.

One of the most interesting parts of this book is that in which the author compares artists of the East with Perugino and Raphael:

> With the Umbrians, the keynote is peace; a consummation of repose beyond the activities of mankind. It is an ennobling serenity, giving largeness and ease to attitude and gesture. But with the Chinese, space often becomes the protagonist in the design. It is not a final peace, but itself an activity, flowing out from the pictures into our minds, and drawing us up into a rarer atmosphere. It is tranquilizing, but even more it is exhilarating.

Landscape art in China, it is interesting to note, developed much earlier than in the West. In China, it was known as "mountain-and-water solid and fluid" suggesting the flesh and blood of the whole living universe. The reason for a Chinese preëminence in landscape painting is readily suggested to the reader's mind, after having heard Mr. Binyon's interpretation of the Chinese. They were rooted in the soil; being farmers, they were interested in the seasonal effects on flowers and plants, their Confucian rituals depended upon mountains and map-makings. Mr. Binyon adds to that, their "mental and spiritual conception of the universe."

YOUNGHILL KANG.

The Road of Suffering

The Jews of Germany, by Marvin Lowenthal. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 456 pages. $3.

SINCE I have come to this country I have been asked again and again: Why are the Jews so severely persecuted in Germany? People expect a short and simple answer, but each time I have had to deliver a full-length lecture, piling one fact on the other, one reason on the other. Now I am as glad as is possible, under the circumstances, to be able to say: Read Mr. Lowenthal's book; it answers your questions.

It will give you the picture of a minority persecuted and tortured through the ages, the story of a few hundred thousand men clinging desperately to their creed and their customs, their God and their belief in the eventual redemption of humanity. Because redemption of humanity, redemption from prejudices and suppression, the creation of a new and better order, is also the redemption of the Jews —that strange minority which is neither purely religious, nor national, nor racial, and which in spite of almost intolerable hardships has managed to survive.

It has survived—why? It has been tortured and is being tortured—why? A complete history of Jewry that would fully answer these questions is still to be written. Graetz and Dubnow, the two great historians of the Jews, approached their problem with a certain bias: the first as a nineteenth-century liberal, the second as a Zionist. But Mr. Lowenthal tries to give—in most cases successfully—the underlying economic motives to be discovered throughout the bloody history of the Jews in Germany. He concludes:

> Jew and Gentile may learn that hatred and intolerance can never be banished, together with all the wanton miseries they provoke, until we can distinguish between men and their environment, until we can understand that the real enemies of society are not human beings—not members of sects, races, or nations

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—but social systems which breed and perpetuate injustice and exploitation.

This is as true for the "dark" Middle Ages as for today. Dialectic development—economic forces shaping intellectual and national forms and vice versa—can clearly be seen in the tragedy of German Jewry. It is a tragedy whose last act is not yet written. But meanwhile the present author lucidly explains one of the problems interesting us most—the political impotence of the German Jews during the Weimar Republic. The main bulk of the German Jews were middle-class people, their leadership was even taken occasionally from the ruling class. As a suppressed minority, however, their lot was thrown in with the suppressed class. This contradiction left them undecided with whom they should ally themselves. STEFAN HEYM.

Books in Brief

Facts and Frauds in Woman's Hygiene, by Rachel Lynn Palmer and Sarah K. Greenberg. New York: The Vanguard Press. 311 pages. $2.

THIS BOOK does for the bewildering array of products sold for women's hygiene what "Skin Deep" did for beauty aids, "Paying Through the Teeth" for dental nostrums, and so on. In all likelihood, it will be of the most use to the credulous buyer because other agencies of society, including our schools, have done little to disabuse women of age-old superstitions. Mrs. Palmer and Dr. Greenberg go about their task of consumer education in a temperate and dignified manner. After presenting clearly and systematically what should be (but for the vast majority of us are not) the elementary facts relating to menstruation, contraception, sterility, abortion and the menopause, the authors proceed to show the dangers in the use of the widely advertised "women's remedies." They point out, for example, that Midol (for "periodic pains") contains amidopyrine, a dangerous drug that brings about in those who are susceptible a grave disease of the bone marrow; Lysol, widely advertised for douching, consists essentially of cresol, almost as potent as carbolic acid and more dangerous to the mucous membrane; while nearly a hundred different "contraceptive" jellies are being sold in vast quantities over the drug counters, although birth-control experts agree that used alone they are not dependable. A pure-food-and-drug law is not sufficient to end the exploitation described by the authors. What is urgently needed is the enactment of legislation permitting the mailing of birth-control information and supplies to physicians. And school curricula must be devised so that the adolescent girl learns the facts concerning her own body from her teachers and not from her equally ignorant companions.

WILL MASLOW.

The Adopted Child, by Eleanor Garrigue Gallagher. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 291 pages. $2.50.

Having been connected since its foundation with the best known and most successful adoption nursery in America, Mrs. Gallagher can write about her subject with authority and sureness. Her sympathies are all with the adopted child and its "adoptive parents," and she is rather harsh toward its natural, but usually "unwed," mother. But except for this pious yet understandably human prejudice, and a rather sugary style, her book is sound and filled with just the information that a young couple considering adopting a child should have at their command. She tells them where the likeliest children are to be found, and explains the technicalities every state and community imposes upon adoptive parents. She also gives some general advice that seems eminently sane. Don't ask a physician to find a baby for you. Don't wander through an orphanage and select a certain child because it has golden curls or a cherubic smile. Let a good placement agency, or an adoption nursery, pick a very young infant for you. If the agency assures you that it is normal and healthy and comes from relatively good stock—and you like it—then accept it as your very own. Never allow it to become morbidly curious about who its real parents might be. And to avoid future shocks and disillusionments, tell the child as soon as you begin to talk to it that it is adopted, but adopted entirely because it was so greatly wanted. G. A.

Ever the Winds Blow, by Elliott Merrick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

This is the long story of Henry Frain's youth and young manhood, of his revolt against modern city and suburban life, of the eventual planting of his roots in the soil of Vermont, and of how he learned Emerson's lesson that "The first in time and the first in importance of the influences upon the mind is that of nature." Throughout his upbringing in a rich suburb, his expensive education and his experience with city jobs, the manifestations of "progress" about him are, to Henry, nothing but barriers against the natural life that calls him. It is only when he comes to rest on a rundown farm, with his small son and his wife Sally, a child-of-wealth convert to the agrarian life, and there gains a livelihood that would be the envy of many a present-day farmer, that life takes on meaning for Henry. For him at least the winds of the title "sweep away the dank fog of uncertainty and fear that overcasts so much of modern life," but many of the fogs encountered here are smokescreens conveniently dropped by the author. C. B.

City for Conquest, by Aben Kandel. New York: Covici, Friede. $2.50.

Aben Kandel loves New York passionately and lyrically. In particular he loves the cruel, vicious, inhuman aspects of the city, and he returns to them again and again in his novel. He rhapsodizes in language heated to incandescence on the "magnificent brutality" of the "city for conquest." He addresses her as a cynical but lovely whore. When not lost in verbal ecstasies, Kandel is describing the desires with which the city infects his characters. Peter lusts after money to compensate for his slum childhood. Eda is mad with sexual lust for New York, the whole of which she regards as a lover. Perry, though rich, dreams only of slum-clear-

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ance, and Googi, a slum rat, wants only to become a big-time bootlegger. All of these are wolves or weaklings; they are none of them real apart from their single ambitions. Kandel evokes many vivid sense images of the city, particularly of its smells, and does make a point: New York is vastly inhuman and in its inhumanity there is a certain grandeur. But his passion for the city inflates his style, drives him into extravagant symbolism and raises his emotional pitch—and occasionally that of the reader—almost to hysteria. L. G.

Tomorrow to Fresh Fields, by Mary Master Needham. New York: Horizon House. 367 pages. $2.75.

Mrs. Needham and her husband were living in Surrey at the outbreak of the World War. Like almost all Americans in England, they were wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of the Allies and accepted Allied propaganda without question. Mr. Needham, as a journalist, did much in good faith to spread this propaganda in America and his wife helped him. This book is the record of her War years; it describes her change of heart from patriotic idealism to utter disillusionment and hatred for all wars, no matter how noble in their avowed purpose. It is a remarkable pacifist document and one that is extremely valuable for the relentless honesty of her memory and the courage of her conclusions. Mrs. Needham's husband was killed in an airplane crash in 1915. Pregnant at the time, she lost her child from shock. Later she returned to France, worked in the devastated areas and was decorated by the French government. But during those years she gradually reached the point where she could say on the day peace was signed that her husband and "all the millions . . . that died because of this war, were betrayed. *All died in vain.*" This is still her conviction, and she further records her belief that "war is inherent and inevitable in an economic and social order in which, after all, profit is the supreme aim." The order itself will have to be changed if peace is to be permanently established. M. G.

A Correction

In the article by Mary Heaton Vorse, "Organizing the Steel Workers," in our issue of August 12, 1936, Thomas Kennedy, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, is identified as a "former member of the United Mine Workers. He is still secretary-treasurer of that union.—THE EDITORS.

Contributors

CHARLES A. BEARD has written numerous books and articles on history, economics and politics, particularly in the field of American history. His latest book, "The Discussion of Human Affairs," was recently published by Macmillan.

HAMILTON BASSO is now living in North Carolina, where he is finishing his new novel, "Court House Square," which Scribner's have announced for publication this fall.

HAVELOCK ELLIS, who was born in Croydon, Surrey, in 1859, began his career as a doctor of medicine but abandoned this in favor of literary pursuits, in which he has gained great fame as an essayist, poet, translator, literary critic and writer on sex. His best known works are the monumental "Studies in the Psychology of Sex," whose complete text was recently published in this country, and a philosophical volume, "The Dance of Life."

DAYTON D. MCKEAN is assistant to the dean of Princeton University and is a member of the New Jersey Legislature.

YOUNGHILL KANG has published many translations of Oriental poetry and a novel, "The Grass Roof," dealing with his native country of Korea. For the past several years he has been a member of the English Department of New York University.

STEFAN HEYM is a German poet, exiled from his own country and now living in Chicago.

WILL MASLOW is a New York City attorney who has made a special study of consumer protection.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Grace Adams, Carlton Brown, Leo Gurko and Martha Gruening.

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